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NOVEMBER 19, 1971

THE END OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

NATIONAL REVIEW

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THE NEW RACISM *Reverse Discrimination in America*

By Lionel Lokos

470 pages, illustrated with police photographs, many never before published. Thoroughly documented with 41 pages of Notes. Comprehensive Index of over 830 entries. Explosive Appendix: *Black Panther Plans for Control of Black High School Students*. A Selection of the Conservative Book Club.

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN if a white group demanded that five states be given over entirely to whites and the blacks expelled? What would be the reaction if a white group trained its members in small arms and engaged in guerrilla warfare against the police? What if still another group — a religious denomination — preached that whites embodied all that is good and blacks all that is evil? What if the members of these groups hated our country so much that they didn't even consider themselves Americans? We all know what the reaction would be!

Now reread the paragraph above and substitute black for white. Insert names like Black Muslims, Black Panthers, and the Republic of New Africa. And suddenly the opinions of far too many leaders and bureaucrats do a somersault. Now we hear unctuous deference . . . the refusal to call sedition by its right name . . . endless articles, all of which might well be called "Uriah Heep Meets the Black Revolution" . . . no condemnation of the subversives — only of their opponents.

This, says Lionel Lokos, is nothing less than the New Racism which, he charges, "refuses even to acknowledge its name." Yet it "can summon many of the most respected personages in America to swear that it really is not racism at all; this New Racism considers it the highest public good to seek out and admit more and more Negroes to our best colleges — and employ more and more Negroes in our best companies — *not* because of ability or achievement but, quite frankly, because of the color of their skin. And to those who object, the answer seems to be that it is racist to *call* this racist."

The author exposes hundreds of explosive examples of the New Racism (most of which you didn't read about in the *New York Times*):

- *Black Panther Coloring Book* — a child's garden of murder.
- What President Nixon said about black revolutionaries. Why a White House aide said: "If that gets in the press, we're dead."
- Dismaying endorsement of reverse discrimination by a famous conservative.
- Black anti-Semitism — and the Liberal Jewish reaction to it.
- The killers of Malcolm X: why their race is never mentioned.
- Conservative leader calls for election of black President in 1980. The author's reply.
- Does the press play down violence and terror in ghetto schools? Some startling charges.
- "Oh, say can you see by the devil's dim light?" Full text of Black National Anthem.
- The tragedy of the black moderate.
- Black judge orders police to release black suspects in murder of white policeman *who hadn't even drawn his gun*.
- How President Nixon and the ADA team up to push preferential hiring for Negroes.
- Militants blackmail the churches.
- The truth about black-studies programs. Laughable "non-negotiable" demands (laughable, that is, until colleges bow to them).
- Communist influences on the black separatist movement.
- Can black separatists be citizens of the U.S. *and* an African country? The Supreme Court's chilling decision.
- Cornell University: armed blacks and spineless whites.
- The university that outlawed discrimination by white fraternities, then set up an all-black dormitory.
- Black sabotage on auto assembly lines.
- Ideas for reaching the Black Silent Majority.

"Condoning in Negroes what it would condemn in whites, a new racism, according to Lokos, has become the trend in America. This new racism has been examined by other writers, most notably Tom Wolfe, but never in the detail and with the supporting evidence present here...The new racism, built on assumptions about the inferiority of the Negro, is a nearly perfect prescription for the destruction of moral strength and for the denial of dignity."
— *National Review*

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VOL. XXIII No. 45 NOVEMBER 19, 1971

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc. 1971.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.
Address all subscription mail, orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Manager, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.

RATES: $20.00 a year ($12.00 for the 44-page issues, and $8.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.
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In This Issue

. . . For a little while, the anti-conservative juggernaut stalled when the President suddenly gave out two names of lawyers whose professional credentials are very high. But the liberal lobby has regrouped, and the attack is on again, in a different guise of course. **James Jackson Kilpatrick**, just back from a trip to South Africa by the way, returns to a favorite subject—Court-watching. He touches, with customary deftness and erudition, on the present situation in the United States Supreme Court, and the historic importance of what will happen in the next few days. . . . **WFB**, called to deliver a luncheon speech at the major China Conference scheduled a few days after the United Nations vote, shared the platform with Senator Gale McGee. The meeting was sociologically interesting because it represented a coalition of conservative and liberal anti-Communists. The affair was chaired by former Ambassador Robert Murphy, and co-sponsored by such Establishment worthies as Herbert Brownell and Lucius Clay. Could it be that us-folks can also make common cause? Mr. Buckley's address incorporates the material of two syndicated columns that went out at about the same time he spoke. . . . **"Roger Halstead"** surveys the damaging report on the behavior of the opponents of ABM a couple of years ago. The ideologization of science is something that doesn't happen only in the Soviet Union. . . . **Linda Bridges** looks at the anti-parochial school lobby and calculates the high cost of fanaticism. —ED.

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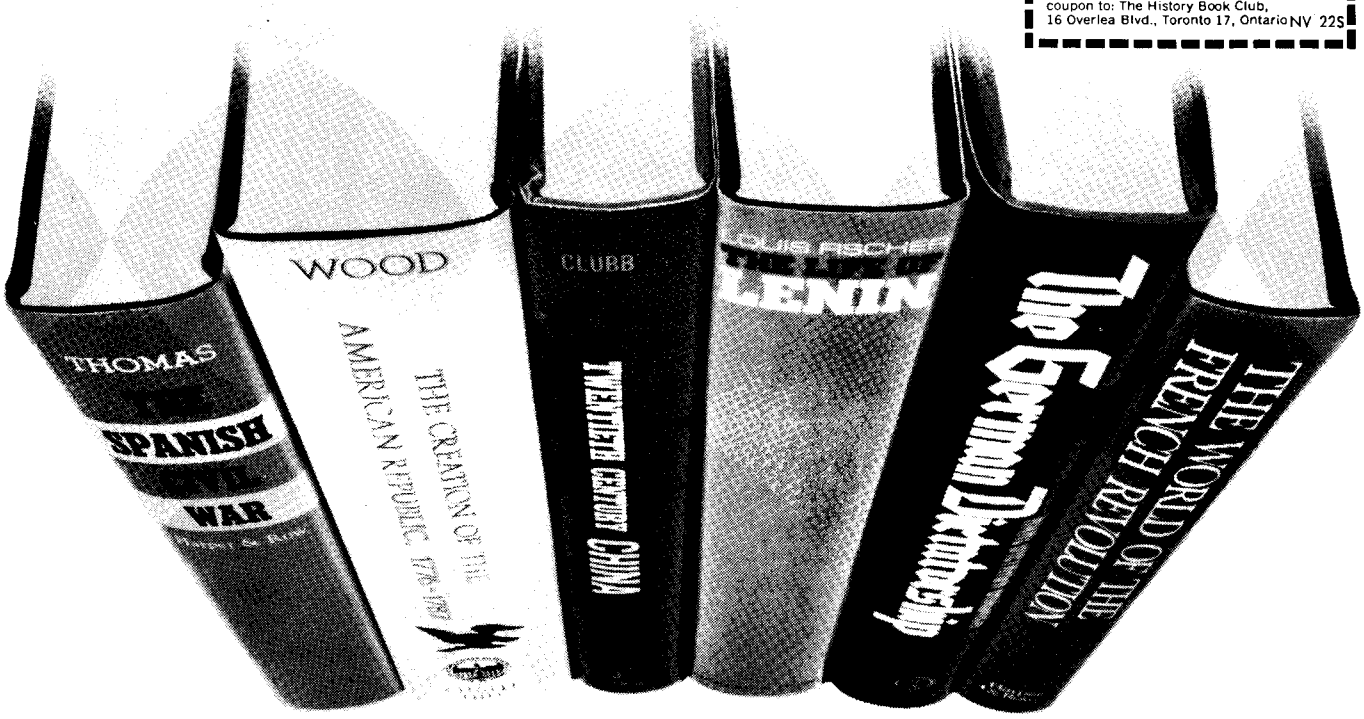

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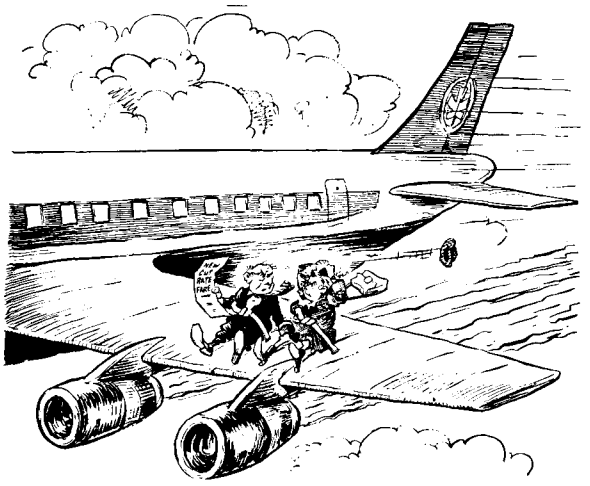
FOR THE RECORD

■ Communist Party U.S.A. more active every day in **Angela Davis, Soledad Brothers, Justice for Attica Prisoners** etc. campaigns. Angela Davis' sister Mrs. **Fania Jordan** has been touring Western and Eastern Europe in well publicized campaign to gather support, funds for Davis defense. Mrs. Jordan told Rome news conference that she had recently joined the CPUSA and that the Party and the **Black Panthers** work together "in such things as rallies." Mrs. Jordan's trip behind the Curtain under sponsorship of World Federation of Democratic Youth (headquarters: Budapest); she was accompanied by **Felicia Ann Coward**, of the Young Workers Liberation League, which is newest and most active CP Youth front. . . . On West Coast, *People's World* (the CP news-weekly in California) has trotted out paroled atom spy **Morton Sobell** (an accomplice of **Julius** and **Ethel Rosenberg**) to speak out against prison conditions. On one platform in San Francisco's Glide Memorial Church, Sobell was accompanied by **Inez Williams**, mother of Soledad Brother **Fleeta Drumgo** and (if you can believe it) **Warren K. Billings**, "framed with **Tom Mooney** for a bombing in 1916." . . . Also much in demand on California platforms these days, **Daniel Ellsberg**. Ellsberg is scheduled to host big "Set the Date" mass meeting at the Sports Arena in Los Angeles on Nov. 12 (daytime, he's in court). . . . *Human Events* reports that former Sen. **Charles Goodell** has signed on as special counsel for Ellsberg; is busy raising money for his defense. . . . Two Women Strike for Peacers, just back from Hanoi, report **U.S. POWs** there have been issued paperback editions of the Pentagon Papers to while away the hours. They had not been allowed to see any POWs.



Chambers, *Halifax Herald* Ben Roth Agency

"How was I to know there was a class lower than economy class?"

■ For the record, figures on contributions to UN for 1970 show that the **U.S.** kicked in $271 million, **Britain** $48 million, **Soviet Union** $41 million, **Sweden** $35 million, **Canada** $34 million, **France** $27 million. Lowest contribution: **Equatorial Guinea**—$5 thou. . . . Not much publicized, fourth annual UN report on **Rhodesia** in which Australia, West Germany and Switzerland admit they have ignored sanctions against Rhodesia. . . . Former diplomat and agrarian reformer **John Stewart Service**, en route back to the States from China, says he got the impression from **Chou En-lai** that Peking "will play a moderate role" in the UN.

■ Sen. **Henry Jackson**, whose advance troops made a foray into New Hampshire a week or so ago, would sort of like to see a wild-eyed split-away fourth party of the Left next year. It would, he says, "sharpen the issues" and tend to bring back to the Democratic Party "working men and women who are now voting Republican." Jackson is trying to decide whether to enter New Hampshire, making it, instead of Florida, his first primary pitch. He may have been spurred on by polls showing **Muskie** slipping vis-à-vis **Nixon**. . . . Also getting cracking in New Hampshire, Mayor **Sam Yorty** who has hired five campaign aides there, gotten the support of **William Loeb**'s conservative *Manchester Union Leader*. . . . In Bedford, New Hampshire, Muskie anounced that he would probably formally enter the race just before or just after the New Year. He says he expects his name to be entered in most of the 24 primaries held in '72.

■ Traveling Notes: Czech Foreign Minister **Jan Marko** has canceled his proposed trip to Britain: this is Prague's answer to British charges that the Czech government has been shipping arms to the Ulster rebels. . . . Gov. **William Milliken** of Michigan, back from a governors' tour of Russia, says his briefcase was searched in his absence from a hotel room. . . . **Cyrus Eaton**, who rushed to Canada to see **Kosygin** a week or so back, has called **Sir Robert Thompson**, the British guerrilla expert, "America's Number One Spy." Eaton thinks the U.S. should get out of the intelligence business entirely. . . . **David Ifshin**—remember him? former president of NSA, chief advocate of the People's Peace Treaty signed in Hanoi by American and Hanoiese students—was rapping with Uruguayan students a week ago when police broke it up, jailed Ifshin for 24 hours on bread and water, deported him to Brazil where he was jailed for 24 hours on b&w . . .

■ Historical footnote: **Red China** was voted into the United Nations on the 21st anniversary of the day her troops invaded **North Korea**. . . . A British cartoon on the subject remarks: "It is a case, perhaps, of setting a China loose in a bullshop."

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LETTERS

War Crimes

Ernest van den Haag's article "U.S. Crimes in Vietnam" [Oct. 22] is the most objective and accurate account of this subject that I have read since returning from my tour in Vietnam 1968-1969. It is disturbing to me that this truthful gem will be read by relatively few people while sensational liberal garbage continues to mislead well-intentioned readers.

Iowa City, Iowa H. SPENCER HOLMES

Liturgical Mess

It was with great interest and approval that I read the editorial entitled "Liturgical Mess" [Oct. 22].

Both as a conservative Episcopalian deeply distressed by many of the current policies of the national Church and as a major in English literature at the old Yale, I was happy to learn of the formation of a Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer. I would appreciate it very much if you could tell me the address of that organization.

Cheshire, Conn. PERCY H. GOODSELL JR.

The Society's address is Box 12206, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn. 37212.—ED.

Reynolds Replies

John Davenport's generous addendum ["The Open Question," Oct. 8] to my "Case against Wage and Price Control" [Sept. 24] suggests that a successful anti-inflation policy must reduce the unions' monopoly power by eliminating their tools of coercion and violence. To show why this is so, Mr. Davenport first attributes to me the strange view that "since unions control something less than 25 per cent of the labor force they cannot be the villains of the piece." What I said was that since union membership has not grown, it is unlikely that the (enormous) distorting influence of unions has grown much either: "It isn't enough to show that unions and concentrated industries have substantial power to influence wage rates and prices. This would explain why certain prices and wages were *relatively* high at any moment, but such market power alone would not explain why these prices, or why prices generally, were rising."

"The second argument made to show that unions are unimportant," says Davenport, "is that in some years of the Sixties wages in the nonunionized sector of the economy rose faster than in the union sector. This is not surprising given the nature of long-term union contracts." Exactly so, but for the same reason how can Davenport pretend surprise at the ill-timed attempt, in 1970-1971, to catch up with the relative decline in four of the preceding five years?

For reasons of equity and efficiency, I agree completely with efforts to minimize monopoly in product and labor markets. But the long-established relative advantage of unions cannot cause general inflation; only a growing gap could do so, and then only if 1) the gains were not offset by declines in the total earnings of unorganized labor, and 2) the increase in aggregate incomes were financed by an increased supply of money.

There are ample objections to unionism without leaving this crucial "wage-push" plank to shore up the price controllers. It all comes back to this: If Nixon has an irresistible urge to freeze something, let him begin with taxes, the money supply and government salaries.

Sacramento, Calif. ALAN REYNOLDS

Nostra Culpa

My delight in receiving my first issue of *NR* was slightly diminished when I found inaccuracies about the political goings-on in my own congressional district ["For the Record," Oct. 22]: Rep. Ken Hechler is not a freshman, as reported, but will be seeking his eighth term, presumably opposing Rep. *James* (not John, who was his father) Kee. The brief analysis of the forthcoming election may also be misleading. While Hechler is certainly a liberal, Kee is not particularly known as a conservative, and Hechler will, as usual, receive some votes from conservatives, many of whom support his stand on strip-mining and are impressed at his responsiveness to his constituents.

But I have not yet mentioned the most grievous error in the report: This is all taking place in *West* Virginia (admitted to the Union, June 20, 1863), not Western Virginia. If *NR* is so conservative that its U.S. map antedates the Civil War, how did it justify its support of Sen. Goldwater, who was, therefore, not a citizen?

Huntington, W. Va. JOHN W. TEEL

Kowtoniuk v. VSC

I should like to report two new developments in the case of Dr. Filimon Kowtoniuk ["The Week," Oct. 22]:

1) Dr. Kowtoniuk has appealed the decision by Virginia State College to dismiss him directly to Governor Linwood Holton and is being supported by the Virginia Branch of the University Professors for Academic Order.

2) The National Headquarters of the UPAO has established a defense fund for him, to enable him to press his case in the courts if necessary: the Kowtoniuk Defense Fund, c/o UPAO Headquarters, 2011 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

I very much appreciate the aid of NATIONAL REVIEW in bringing Dr. Kowtoniuk's case to public attention.

Harrisonburg, Va. HENRY A. MYERS

More on Ireland

It is extremely difficult for most people to learn the truth about what is going on in Northern Ireland. Conservative and liberal publications alike seemed determined to keep the basic facts hidden.

What are the basic facts? 1) Ireland was one country for thousands of years and it should be reunited within the next twenty years. 2) Catholics in Northern Ireland are still the victims of the most bitter discrimination imaginable in regard to employment, housing and the right to vote. 3) Protestants in the Republic of Ireland, under a Catholic majority, are treated completely fairly.

Yet NATIONAL REVIEW's London correspondent, Anthony Lejeune ["Vietnam on the Irish Sea," Oct. 8], gives us some pretty remarkable misstatements and half-truths: "Nor is it a struggle for civil rights." "The indignation expressed by Mr. Lynch, the Prime Minister of Southern Ireland, was pure hypocrisy . . . he has not even dared to patrol the border effectively." A united Ireland would cause "bitter Protestant discontent in Eire." (How come there is no discontent among the 250,000 Protestants there now?) "The 'Provisional' wing of the IRA is controlled by Maoists and Trotskyists." (Easy to say, but what is his proof that they *control* it?) The TV audience in Britain "grows weary of what seems to them a pointless fight." (I am sure it seems pointless, since BBC is not going to tell them Her Majesty's government is perpetuating such a bigoted anti-Catholic regime.)

Finally, Mr. Lejeune concludes: "The real issue is not civil rights . . . [but] whether violence is going to be shown, yet again, to pay political dividends." It paid off for George Washington, and who is to condemn him? The denial of civil rights in Northern Ireland is much worse than the conditions against which Washington fought, and the grievances are of much longer duration. Ever since Cromwell's time, Catholics have been the victims of severe political and economic discrimination.

That was true in all of Ireland until the 26 counties gained their independence. Unfortunately they had to do it by revolution. They were condemned at the time, just as Washington was condemned. But who dares condemn them today?

If people like Bernadette Devlin are bitter, it is because, like countless thousands of others, they had their property

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confiscated by a foreign ruler and given to Protestants. It is because her father, like so many thousands in the North, had to leave Ireland in order to get a job because he was a Catholic.

There is no discrimination against Catholics in England, just as there is no discrimination against Protestants in the Irish Republic. The only solution is for England to take over the government of Northern Ireland and rule it as she rules England.

In ten years' time, after the discrimination against Catholics has become a thing of the past, the northern six counties could be voted into the south. Ireland must be united once again, as it was for thousands of years before England so arbitrarily divided it in 1921.

New York, N.Y. DANIEL LYONS S.J.

Anti-Greenway

I'm surprised at you! Admittedly, *The First Sex* might have been written by an idiot female, but must you carry equal time so far as to have it reviewed by an idiot male?

I can just tolerate John Greenway's anti-feminist drivel ["What Really Went on in Eden," Oct. 22], although his remark about "man and *his* woman" makes me wonder where to line up for my leash. For the sake of truth, however, I hope that the only "red-haired, blue-eyed Celts" Professor Greenway is acquainted with are in his own Anthropology Department at the University of Colorado. In that case, I can't blame them for being "on the gargle" either, poor souls.

Alas! Poor *NR*—don't be lulled into thinking that *all* of the "liberated" women have miraculously clawed their way from mindless, pampered house pets to equally mindless, dehumanized storm troopers. A truly liberated person (to free *everyone* for a moment) serves *no* ranting demagogue, neither the male-haters nor the male chauvinists.

If John Greenway is all you've got for me to be superior to—you'd better tie one hand behind my back!

Bayside, N.Y. MAURA E. HEAPHY

Skinner and Behaviorism

I was much interested by your editorial on B. F. Skinner ["On to 1984," Oct. 22], and a little surprised that he should still be charging out to do battle with the forces of cognition and perception. I had hoped that he would have the sense to retire, covered with academic honors and glory, before the ground was cut out from under him.

The works of scholars such as Chomsky, Halle, Deese, McNeill and Brown in that shadowy area where psychology and linguistics meet are presenting evidence, bit by bit, which threatens to make behaviorism relate to psychology as phlogiston does to chemistry. Skinner just might be the William O. Douglas of psychology.

Provo, Utah RONALD SHOOK

Your brief comment on Professor B. F. Skinner's new book, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, suggests that certain aspects of his work are, to use your word, "bizarre." By implication, his ideas are associated with a "philosophical wasteland." One possible consequence of such comments is the neglect of one school of psychology, behaviorism, which seems to this reader, both a behaviorist and a conservative, to be most consistent with the basic principles of conservatism.

Skinner's work, far from being bizarre, follows in the tradition of logical positivism in philosophy, and behaviorism (as exemplified by John B. Watson) in psychology. If the notion of the truly autonomous man, which Skinner rejects, were true, one would not worry about "The News Twisters," since autonomous man would, by definition, be immune from manipulation by the media. Skinner simply recognizes the fact that a large part of human behavior *is* affected by environmental influences (the word "stimuli" is too narrow to express Skinner's meaning). In addition to those institutions of society (schools, mental hospitals, prisons etc.) which are explicitly assigned the task of manipulating behavior (in education, therapy or rehabilitation), other institutions (such as the welfare apparatus) have significant effects on behavior even though behavioral control is not their explicit function. A behavioral analysis of the welfare state would reveal that the system is actually reinforcing (i.e., rewarding) joblessness, illegitimacy and a variety of other ills which it is designed to cure. Given that such institutions do control behavior, is it not better to plan intelligently (through channels which already exist) the effects of the controls than to leave them to happenstance, as so often happens?

Skinnerians come in a variety of political colorations, and despite certain notions such as communalism, which are irrelevant to the theory as a whole, the Skinnerian theory is essentially nonpolitical. At the very least, an understanding of the mechanisms by which behavior is controlled is useful to devising techniques of countercontrol. As practical psychology, Skinnerian conceptualizations of behavior are more precise and useful than other conceptualizations (e.g., Freudian theory) that, while being no less deterministic than Skinnerian theory, are less precise, since they deal with unobservable "mental events."

Timonium, Md. THOMAS A. MCCULLOUGH

ADL, No!

This letter is in response to a letter written by Walter Braun [Oct. 8], which was critical of the masterful article by C. H. Simonds ["Willis Carto and His Fronts," Sept. 10]. Mr. Braun gives the impression that a study of Zionism and of the ADL would justify Carto's ravings and rantings.

(*Continues on page 1321*)

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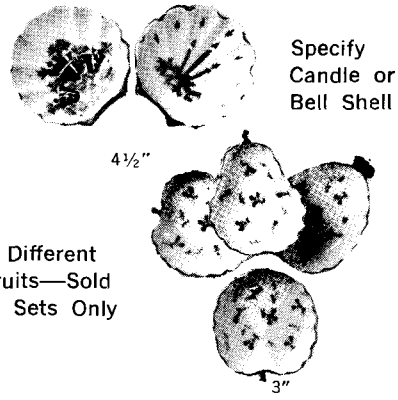

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THE WEEK

■ Do you wish to know the *real* reason why Prime Minister Heath threw out all those Soviet spies? It took the Communist *Daily World* a little time to unravel the true story, but here it is: "*London*—The Tory government of Prime Minister Edward Heath, beset by massive unemployment, mounting working-class resistance to its anti-union laws, and a critical situation in North Ireland over its policy of repression, reacted in the traditional manner of reactionary regimes and manufactured a vast spy scare."

■ A federal grand jury in Boston wants to talk to three chums of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, about those Pentagon Papers he, aah, acquired. The three, all Scholars, all violently anti-American, are Noam Chomsky (MIT), Richard A. Falk (Princeton) and Samuel Popkin (Harvard). Along with the usual parade of Amendments, they've found an interesting new reason not to testify: Questioning of Scholars by grand juries is a violation of academic freedom, they say—and they've got affidavits from other Scholars (Reischauer, Galbraith etc.) to prove it. After all, the reasoning goes, if a newspaperman can refuse to testify in order to protect privileged sources, shouldn't a Scholar have the same right? Legal experts reply that freedom of the press is specifically guaranteed by the First Amendment, while academic freedom is governed by what the *New York Times* calls "an accumulation of norms." We await the publication of a magisterial book by Profs. Chomsky, Falk and Popkin, entitled *Stealing: The New Norm*.

■ Father Nicholas J. Riddell, a Carmelite priest from Milwaukee, became increasingly involved with antiwar groups beginning in 1968, soon moving into St. Boniface church, the headquarters of Father James Groppi. In 1969, as part of the "Chicago Fifteen" operation, he participated in the destruction of Selective Service records and was convicted in absentia, having gone underground. He and three companions have now been arrested after a shootout with police. The group, no doubt soon to be known as the St. Louis Four, was attempting to burglarize the rectory of St. Peter's Catholic Church, near St. Louis. "He felt the institutional Church wasn't responding to needs of society," noted an acquaintance.

■ Congressman Seymour Halpern (R., N.Y.) has introduced legislation to resurrect the $2 bill, with a bang. It will be the first Federal Reserve Note to be graced with the portrait of a woman: Susan B. Anthony, first advocate of woman's suffrage and fiery abolitionist. Halpern's bill is backed by 25 women's organizations representing fifty million women and by seventeen married governors. Chances are it will pass, unless it is headed off by the $3 bill, proposed by Gay Lib.

■ From the *Times*: "UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Nov. 2—Senator George S. McGovern said here today that he had visited Secretary General Thant and had expressed satisfaction with the widening [sic] of the membership as a result of Communist China's admission to the UN. Mr. McGovern . . . said he felt President Nixon had been 'immature' in his strong reaction to the General Assembly's vote to expel Nationalist China. The South Dakota Democrat called Peking's admission an important step toward universal [sic] membership." Sick.

■ On October 29, the day that Britain voted to join the European Common Market, half the world away, in Singapore, the flags of the British Far East Command were lowered for the last time. A chapter in British colonial history, spanning two centuries, from 1742 when the first British naval force sailed into Singapore under the command of Commodore George Anson to the present when Sir Brian Burnett, Commander in Chief of the Far East forces, took the salute as sixteen grey ships steamed past the flagship *Stromness* in farewell review, has closed. Britain will join the new five-power defense arrangement with Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand.

■ Comrade Chou En-lai, James Reston's and Henry Kissinger's genial host with whom President Nixon will be exchanging toasts in a few months, is frequently described as "sophisticated" in comparison with the drab Maoist fanatics who surround him. Sophisticated as all get-out, if Mohammed Heikal is to be believed. Heikal, for years right-hand man and confidant to Gamel Abdel Nasser, describes in his memoirs a chat between Chou and Nasser in June 1965 (when President Johnson was escalating). Seems Nasser wanted the U.S. to withdraw and let the Vietnamese settle things themselves. But "Chou said that he did not want Johnson to withdraw any American soldiers. On the contrary, he wanted the United States to send more and more of its young men

Supercop Wins

O, the indignity! Hear how they moan.
Teddy's disconsolate; Ed's on the phone.
Back at the Ripon Society, crepe
Clings to the cornice as Lindsay cries RAPE.
No one but hardhats and coppers in view.
Poor Philadelphia, what will it do?
It will do *nicely*. While liberals chafe,
Rizzo will make Philadelphia safe.

W. H. VON DREELE

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to Vietnam. [Chou said:] 'We are afraid that some American militarists may press for a nuclear attack on China and we think that the American involvement in Indochina is an insurance policy against such an attack because we shall have a lot of their flesh at our fingertips. . . . [We are] planting the best kinds of opium especially for the American soldiers in Vietnam. . . . We want them to have a big army in Vietnam, which will be hostage to us, and we want to demoralize them. The effect which this demoralization is going to have on the United States will be far greater than anyone realizes.' "

■ Israel first votes to make the question of Red China's admission to the UN an important question. Then it votes to admit Peking and expel Taipei. Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban sends a cable to Mao's government congratulating it on the UN victory. Chinese authorities—to show they're sore at Israel's first vote—refuse to accept the cable. On the grounds that there are no postal links between the two countries. Does this mean that the Israeli post office will stop processing all that Red Chinese propaganda that arrives regularly in Israel from Peking, stamped with Maoist stamps? Come to think of it Israel, being Israel, just might.

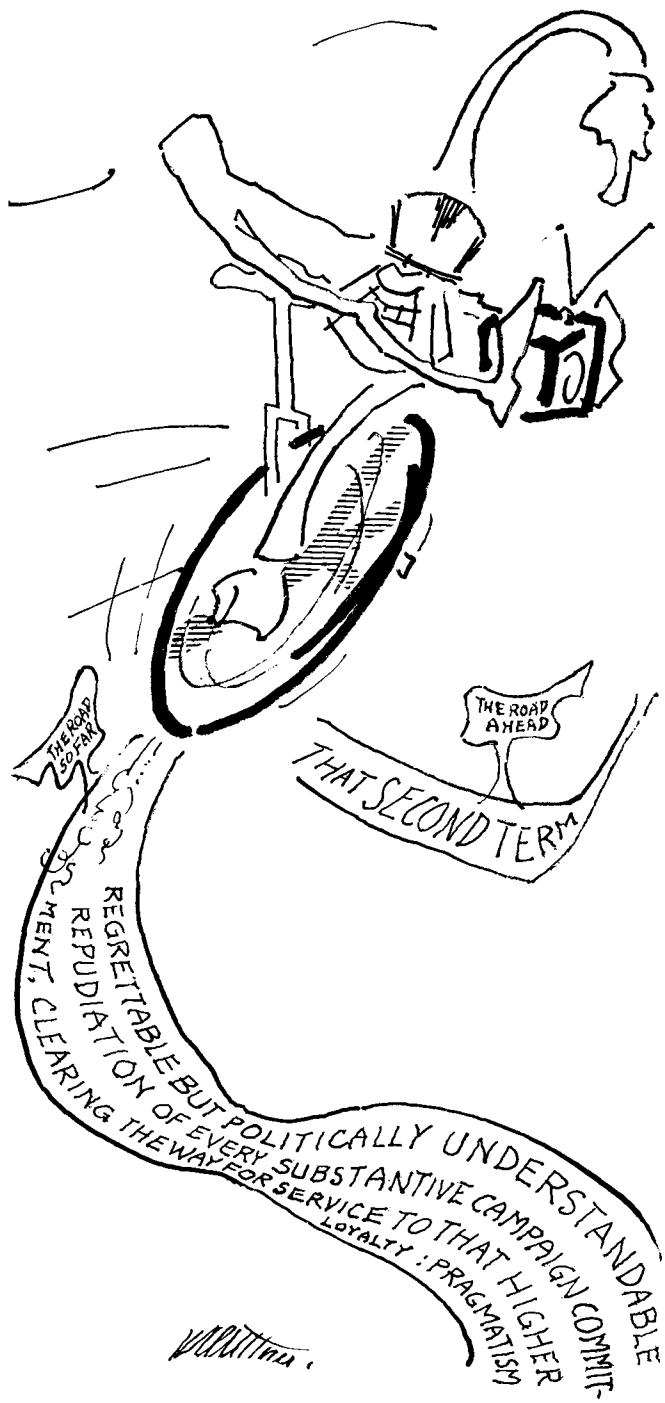
■ Canadian anti-Americanism took it on the chin recently in Ontario's provincial election. Opposition parties there, out to end 28 years of Tory rule, waged Yankee-baiting campaigns, blaming the Conservatives for making Ontario's economy too dependent on the U.S. As Canada's largest and most industrialized province, Ontario is the hardest hit by the Nixon surcharges. About one-third of all Canadians live in Ontario, and nearly one-third of all industrial jobs depend on U.S. trade. In this climate, the ultranationalism of the Liberals and Socialists looked like winning electoral strategy. To nearly everyone's astonishment, the Conservatives won a landslide victory, even defeating Socialist incumbents in cities with high unemployment rates. Anti-American Premier Trudeau is said to be rethinking his strategy for next year's federal election.

■ Twenty-two Cubans arrive in the United States, without visas, and announce they'll attend an international sugar conference. That's on a Tuesday. They are held first at a swanky motel, then in the bachelor officers' quarters of an air base (not in the clink). Following Tuesday, a federal immigration official rules that they are "excludable and deportable" because they do not have visas. But . . . they are allowed to enter a notice of appeal. If the appeals board upholds the immigration official, why then they can take their case to the United States Court of Appeals. If the United States Court of Appeals says out, why then, they can take their case to the Supreme Court of the United States. All of which hardly makes them feel at home.

■ The health food movement has lifted into space this autumn. Pan Am is now offering health tidbits for breakfast and snacks to its passengers on London-New York flights. Sample breakfast delicacies: muesli (a mixed nuts and fruit cereal), wholemeal rolls, oat cakes, raw sugar marmalade; and for a snack, wholemeal biscuits and apricot slices. The items are supplied by Cranks (yes, honestly), a London health food restaurant.

■ GIVE THEM AN INCH: The President of the prestigious

The High Road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"That dancing in the aisles certainly did shock my sensibilities as a Strict Contortionist!"

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Attica Revisited

During the rebellion at Attica and immediately following it, a number of statements of fact were made by the media and by various commentators, and much speculation was offered regarding the causes of the rebellion and the desirable way of handling it. Last week, the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* printed excerpts from the tape-recorded testimony of men who had been held hostage. This testimony was gathered by Warren H. Hanson, a physician who treated the hostages and the prisoners while the rebellion was in progress. It contradicts in key respects many of the impressions given to the public at the time.

"We are faced with the fact that the inmates were made so desperate by prison conditions that they willingly and in large numbers decided that the ultimate risk was acceptable." (Edwin A. Roberts, *National Observer*, Oct. 2)

"For years, Attica had been known as a good place to do time. Everyone coming from other prisons said we were feeding better than anyone else in the state. We were the receiving prison for Western New York from about Syracuse west. Then we started receiving large numbers of inmates from the metropolitan New York City area. . . . The black militants were very strong. Many blacks were even afraid to talk to us for fear they would be verbally or physically abused by the militants." (Officer Pierce, *Times Magazine*)

"I'd say about fifty of the men wanted [violent confrontation] and another 150 went along with it because they were members of the group. . . . I'd say there were about a thousand inmates in the yard that didn't want to be in the yard—I think they were hostages the same as I was." (Officer Morris)

"The most shocking and spectacular upheavals in recent years have been directed at some of the most rigid institutions in American life—the lock-step education of the four-year university, the caged animal custodial approach of prisons and 'correctional facilities.' " (Tom Wicker, *New York Times*, Sept. 21)

"Thus, while for the past two years, the prison's inmate population had hovered around the two thousand mark and while in September of this year it stood at 2,254, still, each Attica inmate had his own individual cell with bed, sink and toilet bowl—and, in some instances, with a rug and other furnishings obtained from the outside." (Hanson)

"They have probably four hundred men working in the metal shops and you're lucky if a quarter of them do any work at all. They goof around, drink coffee, and play cards and poker." (Officer Carlson)

" 'Distrust,' wrote Nietzsche, 'all those in whom the desire to punish is strong.'

"Distrust the prison guards, swinging their 'nigger sticks' as they saunter down the steel-barred corridors.

"Distrust the warden who casts a prisoner into 'the box'—a stripped, solitary cell—for minor infractions of petty rules." (Harriet Van Horne, *New York Post*, Sept. 15)

"Furthermore, the disciplinary means at their disposal were, they stated, inadequate to cope with large groups of increasingly uncooperative prisoners. They could 'keep lock' a troublemaker (keep him locked in his cell for the day) or they could segregate him in HBZ . . . a new euphemism for isolation. As the guards described them, HBZ cells were each equipped with a bed, a sink and a toilet bowl—and sometimes a switchbox that allowed them to tune in on three radio stations, as well—and thus were so similar to ordinary cells that the threat of being segregated in HBZ carried little more deterrent force than the threat of being keep-locked, which wasn't all that bad either." (Hanson)

"I've seen blood ooze from the heads of Attica inmates hit by guards with sticks. . . ." (Charles B. Lankford, a former inmate, in the *Washington Post*, Sept. 19)

"The guards held as hostages whom I interviewed unanimously declared that the regulation prohibiting the use of physical force had been scrupulously adhered to for many years. Not only, they said, had none of them personally resorted to blows, but they had never seen a fellow correction officer strike an inmate. In a facility where inmates greatly outnumbered guards, they added, an officer who beat prisoners would walk in daily fear for his life." (Hanson)

"*Scare Stories.* At the Chicago Convention in 1968, the demonstrators were planning to murder Mayor Daley and others and burn down the Conrad Hilton Hotel. At Attica, one prisoner held a blow torch to the foot of a hostage, another castrated a hostage, and two hostages were killed two days before the assault. All these scare stories received official circulation, and all were false." (Tom Wicker, *New York Times*, Sept. 21)

"The guy [inmate] *put a knife at my throat and a nightstick in my back to arch me. He took out his comb and combed my hair, saying, 'I want you to die pretty.' . . . When the shooting finally started, he started cutting, but the troopers got him before he could finish the job."* (Mr. Clark, a civilian prison employee) *"Mr. Clark sustained a deep, three-inch long laceration on the left side of his neck, where his inmate guard started to cut, which then faded, after the inmate was shot, into a superficial scratch extending across the front of his neck to below his right ear."* (Hanson)

"My executioner took the knife away from my throat several times to wipe it across my blindfold. He said, 'This has to be sterile so you won't get any germs.' . . . A tear-gas bomb exploded near us and I suddenly heard the rushing, roaring sound of a bullet going by my ear and the man and his knife disappeared." (Officer Barber)

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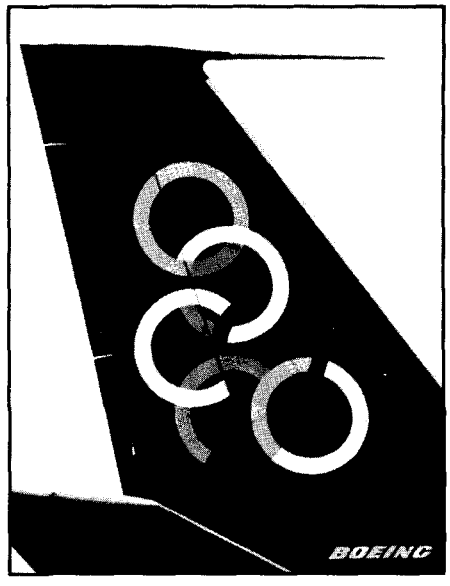

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National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Philip Handler, is worried about the human gene pool. Where people born with genetic defects used to die off, he told a medical convention last week, they are now kept alive and allowed to pass their defects on to future generations. "It may mean that some people are dispensable." What to do? Detect genetic problems early in pregnancy. "We've already decided that abortion is an acceptable way to keep down the population. Many people now think of the early fetus as a 'nonperson.' As soon as you make that decision, the rest is rather easy."

■ "We are losing our freedoms. We are losing them more rapidly, more insidiously during these Nixon years than at any time since the First World War." We "are experiencing a tyranny over the mind of man that is virtually without precedent in modern times." (Harriet Van Horne, *New York Post*, Nov. 1)

"There are some who say freedom of the press is now in the greatest degree of danger of being lost in America. There are others who say it is lost already." (ACLU report, "The Nixon Administration and the Press")

"Hieronymo's mad againe." (Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*)

So It Goes

New York Times, Oct. 31. Headline: "CLOSE [New York Transportation] BOND VOTE FORECAST"

Ibid., Nov. 3. Headline: "STATE BOND ISSUE IS VOTED DOWN. . . . MARGIN IS LARGE" [in fact, more than 600,000].

NYT, Oct. 31. "Richard G. Lugar, the dynamic young mayor of Indianapolis who has become one of President Nixon's prized advocates on municipal matters, is facing a vigorous challenge Tuesday by an even younger Democratic opponent. . . . Mr. Lugar is still considered a slight favorite to win."

Ibid., Nov. 3. Lugar re-elected by 153,407 to 100,552.

NYT, Oct. 31. Headline: "RIZZO'S LEAD CUT IN PHILADELPHIA. ENDORSEMENTS OF MAYORAL OPPONENT ARE GROWING"

Ibid., Nov. 3. "Frank L. Rizzo . . . swept to a solid victory."

NYT, Oct. 31. Headline: "A CLOSE CONTEST FACED BY ALIOTO"

Ibid., Nov. 3. Alioto sweeps field of eleven candidates.

NYT, Oct. 31. "Barring an unseen development . . . Mr. Pinkey [the Stokes-backed candidate for mayor of Cleveland] is expected to win a plurality."

Ibid., Nov. 3. "Ralph J. Perk . . . swept the Republican Party into Cleveland's City Hall tonight."

NYT, Oct. 31. Headline: "DEMOCRATIC GAIN IN JERSEY. REDISTRICTING GIVES PARTY CHANCE TO CONTROL SENATE"

Ibid., Nov. 3. Headline: "REPUBLICANS KEEP SENATE IN JERSEY"

NYT, Oct. 31. Headline: "NATIONAL STATUS FOR EVERS AT STAKE IN VOTE TUESDAY. . . . There is a real fear among white political leaders here that the bold, shrewd Mr. Evers might get lucky and win the governor's office."

Ibid., Nov. 3. "William L. Waller . . . decisively [in fact, by 4 to 1] defeated Charles Evers."

Election Notes

Black Power. Reality begins to intrude on the dream. Did anyone seriously expect Charles Evers would win the Mississippi governorship? The pertinent datum is that he got 150,000 votes, and that would have been unthinkable ten years ago. Equally interesting, Evers was able to say in his concession speech—with apparent sincerity—"We have now begun to move ahead. Those running racial campaigns are dead. [Winner William L.] Waller ran a clean campaign without bringing in race—we must give the devil his due." . . . Up in Cleveland, outgoing Mayor Carl Stokes tried to demonstrate that black political power can swing elections—and failed miserably. The Democrat he had supported in the primary (to show the party machine that his machine-within was to be reckoned with) lost in the big race; so did the black independent to whom Stokes switched after the primary. Winner was Republican Ralph J. Perk, an unknown with a poorly organized, underfinanced campaign; he won because after four years of Stokes the city is more "racially polarized" than in the bad old days. . . . Perhaps after all, black mayors will have the best chance of making a go of it in smaller, less agonized cities—like Englewood, N.J. and Kalamazoo, Mich., where blacks won November 2.

White Backlash. Only up to a point. Tough-cop Frank Rizzo won in Philadelphia, with a law and order stance that was widely interpreted as a veiled promise to keep Negroes in their place. But race wasn't the big issue, crime was, and Rizzo did less badly than expected in black high-crime neighborhoods. Besides, he had the backing of the city's efficient Democratic machine; his opponent, a Lindsayesque liberal Republican, never managed to meet the folks. . . . In Boston, integration opponent Louise Day Hicks lost badly to liberal Mayor Kevin White. Mrs. Hicks ran a lackluster campaign; White had some solid achievements (beefed-up police force, declining crime rate) to point to; he did well even in "white ethnic" neighborhoods where Mrs. Hicks was supposed to run strong. Race and integration weren't big issues.

The outlook for 1972. Not good for Nixon. In three states he won in 1968, Democrats won big. In New Jersey, they came within a vote of capturing the Assembly—running under the slogan "Let Nixon Know It." In Kentucky, they took the governorship; winner Wendell Ford ran as a "dump Nixon" candidate. In Indiana, they ousted ten Republican mayors (not including Indianapo-

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

The stunned reaction of the White House to the foreign aid setback reflects grim political realities. Though the Administration will not admit it publicly, passage of the foreign aid bill in some form is crucial to the President's re-election hopes.

—Because of its effect on the India-Pakistan situation, defeat of foreign aid may severely impede the President's trip to Peking. That operation cannot be botched in an election year.

—The catch-all swipe at foreign aid compromises the American commitment to Israel, thereby jeopardizing the GOP's on-again, off-again effort to win a substantial chunk of the Jewish vote in 1972.

—The Senate vote represented one of those situations in which the White House obviously did not even vaguely anticipate a setback and therefore seemed out of control of the situation.

According to well-placed Administration sources, American foreign aid alone stands between the present uneasy peace and an Indian-Pakistani war. The pouring of about a million refugees into India from East Pakistan has placed a severe burden on the Indian economy, besides putting Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government under pressure from powerful Indian Bengalis to go to war with Pakistan on behalf of their displaced fellow tribesmen. Thus far Mrs. Gandhi has managed to stave off the military confrontation, partly because she fears Communist Chinese intervention against India in the event of war.

Mrs. Gandhi's fears are shared by the U.S. intelligence community. As long as there is no Indian-Pakistani war, China will, according to the interpretation of well-placed Washington sources, do nothing. But the moment a conflict erupts, China will take advantage of it and seize Indian territory claimed by her several years ago. China would not move so much in support of Pakistan as to embarrass the Soviet Union, which has recently allied itself with India, but which might not be willing to strike directly at China. Soviet influence in the Indian subcontinent, much vaunted by Soviet visits to New Delhi and by Soviet fleet activities in the Indian Ocean, would then be proved to be a paper tiger. For the Administration, the scenario is glum. The President's visit to China would be aborted and a crisis of the first order would replace the generation of peace that he has promised.

American aid, on the order of $250 million in funds and $250 million in food and medicine, is thought by Administration sources to be the minimum necessary to enable the present Indian government to stave off economic catastrophe and the inevitable war.

■ The Administration is likewise fearful that a chorus of Democratic Presidential hopefuls in the Senate will take credit for the almost-certain restoration of funds for Israel. Such action would place the Administration in the position of having been lax in pushing for the aid and would put Democrats in the position of being against most military aid—except for Israel.

The Administration's fears about Democrats are exacerbated by the voting performance of Republicans. GOP Chairman Robert Dole (Kansas) was one of those voting to kill the bill, while such usual White House stalwarts as Carl Curtis (Neb.) weren't even present. The middle-ground liberal Democrats gave some support to the bill, but just how a new coalition for foreign aid will be put together is a puzzle.

■ The blow to foreign aid is one that might well strike at GOP campaign chests in 1972. Two out of every three foreign aid dollars are spent in the U.S. Hence the blow to the economy could be severe. Without the money that foreign aid allows the government to put into American business, the economy might suffer severely and impair the President's plan for economic recovery before November 1972. —CATO

---

lis' Richard Lugar, a Nixon favorite). . . . Defeat of the New York State transportation bond issue was a blow to Nelson Rockefeller, making it even less likely that he can deliver the state to the GOP next year. . . . While returns from Cleveland and Philadelphia indicate that white ethnic voters still worry about law and order, the Boston vote shows they can be successfully courted by a liberal.

England: Common Market

The 356 to 244 vote in the House of Commons approving British entry into the Common Market represents a personal triumph for—in David Riesman's term—the most inner-directed political leader now operating in the modern Western world.

As leader of the Opposition, Edward Heath promised to discipline the powerful trade unions, lower taxes, prune socialist benefits and reduce government intervention in the economy. Few believed that, in the unlikely event of his election, he would really pursue such a program. They were wrong.

In the contemporary setting, there are other unusual features in Heath's approach to leadership. He did not take seriously the polls that showed him losing to Harold Wilson. He has been widely quoted as expressing complete indifference to the regard in which he is held by the media and the press. He is not a practitioner of consensus politics, not a master of the Art of Compromise, and he does not steal a march on his opponents by preempting their programs.

On Common Market entry, his approach was vintage Heath. Initially the polls showed an overwhelming majority of the public in opposition to entry, and though this majority shrank, it was still a majority on the eve of the vote. Heath showed no sign of bowing to such an informal plebiscite. Implicitly, therefore, he was governing according to the Burkean conception of representative government rather than taking his instructions from popular sentiment. His strategy was based on the judgment that in the parliamentary crunch the issue would transcend party lines, and that a large minority of Labor members would follow through on their longtime support of British entry. He was correct.

As the contest developed, Harold Wilson played an inglorious role, but, in longer perspective, a necessary

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and useful one. Abruptly jettisoning his earlier position in favor of entry, he seized the leadership of Labor opposition to it—thus appearing publicly ridiculous. But from that position of leadership he beat back left-wing moves to commit the Party to a break with the Market when returned to power. Wilson has also maneuvered to heal the breach between pro- and anti-Market politicians in the Labor Party, and if he can bring this about he will have done much to prevent the Party from falling into the hands of its left-wing extremists and will, therefore, have preserved the two-party system. Though ostensibly anti-Market, Wilson's performance, objectively analyzed, was as pro-Market as his circumstances permitted.

Some Conservatives remain skeptical about the desirability of the Common Market and, as would follow, about Britain's entry, for they view the Market as merely a fancy new form of multination cartel and customs union. In addition, traditional nationalists such as Charles de Gaulle and Francisco Franco have suspected that the Common Market, a remote and abstract international entity, was a threat to national identity. As against these objections, however, it has been plausibly replied that markets continental in size will encourage the efficiency and promote the economic power that will enable Europe to play its appropriate role in the world arena. It is true that the United States will be challenged economically by the emerging European entity. Nevertheless, politically viewed, such an increase in non-Communist and, especially, Western power will surely be in the long-run American interest.

Democracy and Government

To the great disappointment of the media, the inauguration of Nguyen Van Thieu for his second term as President of South Vietnam went off pleasantly, in the presence of the representatives of more than thirty nations, with no disturbances, riots or counterdemonstrations, and virtually no military activity from the Vietcong/North Vietnamese. The dispatches, having nothing much else to gossip about, featured a sour-grape statement by outgoing Vice President Ky (which was copiously quoted, while Thieu's inaugural address was referred to briefly in passing) and the "tight security measures" taken against possible trouble in Saigon during the ceremonies.

It is our impression that fairly tight security measures during inaugurations are not all that uncommon nowadays, but the foreign-correspondent corps seemed to find them peculiarly reprehensible in South Vietnam. Thereby they showed not merely their usual ideological warp, but their lack of understanding of political reality. It was, actually, a singular proof of South Vietnam's advance toward genuine nationhood that Thieu was capable of organizing effective security on an occasion of such symbolic significance in a country that has been ravaged by war for a generation—an advance additionally and strikingly confirmed by the enemy's inability to interfere even outside of Saigon's security screen. The successful organization and conduct of the election two months earlier had provided impressive evidence to the same effect.

True, that election had not been a textbook model of democratic procedure. But South Vietnam—like the other half-formed and underdeveloped new countries—has got to become a nation before it can be a democracy. If it doesn't have a government that can govern, talk about "democracy" is pointless. The real objection of the doves to Thieu is not that he is undemocratic (contrast their attitude toward Mao, Brezhnev, Tito etc.) but that he seems to be consolidating a sufficient majority of his people in back of a genuine government: a government, moreover, that will refuse to capitulate to the North Vietnamese.

Is This Trip Necessary?

Those who are reassured by governmental motion on matters economic and who worry little about vast expansions of Presidential power have good cause for cheer. Phase II is upon us. The President and his advisers have designed a truly impressive array of boards, councils, committees, courts and commissions to monitor and control prices, wages, profits, interest rates, dividends and product quality—in sum, directly or indirectly, the entire workings of the U.S. economy.

If we examine the economic data of recent years, it becomes clear that Phase II is "motion economics" of the crudest sort. Those most directly affected by Phase II are those who have had least to do with inflationary pressures in the economy. It is not the highly visible major industrial corporations and their highly unionized labor force that have been leading the wage-price spiral in recent years. Rather, it is, mirabile dictu, government itself. In 1970, according to the prestigious Wall Street firm of Salomon Brothers, state, local and federal government accounted for almost 25 per cent of the total increase in the price level. And if we add inflation in the highly decentralized service and financial sectors of the economy, the three categories together were responsible for over 50 per cent of the increase in the broadcast price measure available, the deflator for gross national product.

Government wage settlements in the past two years have much exceeded those in any other sector of the economy except the construction industry. So we have an essential truth of the matter: In order to pay its bureaucrats wage increases far exceeding productivity gains, the government increases the tax load on the citizenry; resulting inflationary pressure is then to be countered with a vast expansion of executive control over those sectors of the economy where inflation has been relatively less severe. Consider: The largest corporations and labor unions will be required to obtain prior approval from the President's men for all price and wage increases; about ten thousand other firms will be required to file reports with the myriad newly created ex-

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Here is how you can get, at a special bargain price, your own personal copy of William F. Buckley's unique new book, "Cruising Speed."

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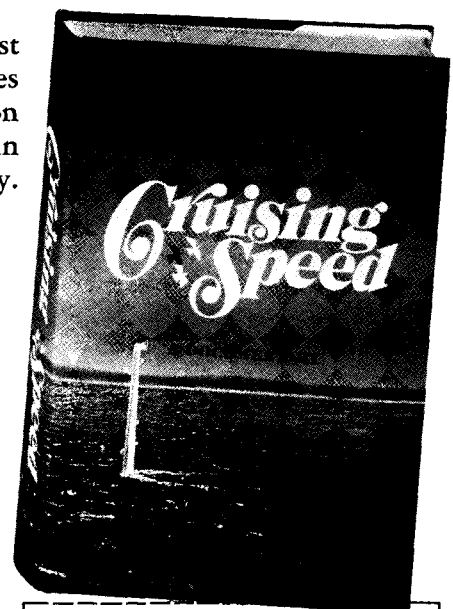

YOU simply won't be able to find a more entertaining or interesting book this season than "Cruising Speed." It is the perfect book for all Buckley fans – young and old alike! Besides being a journal, "Cruising Speed" offers an exclusive glimpse into the inner workings of Bill Buckley, not to mention all the many and varied things that happen to him – all written down along with his own commentary – for the first time, genuine "Buckley on Buckley"!

And what he accomplishes in one week is phenomenal: two debates, two college speeches, TV tapings, three newspaper columns, getting *National Review* published, in addition to attending special dinners, concerts, meeting with friends, answering his correspondence and writing "Cruising Speed" itself.

Travel with Bill Buckley

You will journey with Bill Buckley to Princeton and Yale for speaking engagements. There are plenty of heavy exchanges with the students, complete with a biased article in the local paper. (The complete text of the Yale speech, a *tour de force*, is reproduced in full.) And you'll share in the excitement of two lively debates: one with Dick Gregory at the University of Bridgeport, the other with Ramsey Clark in New York. (His description of the Clark debate includes a fascinating, inside view of how debater Buckley sizes up an opponent, handles an audience and plots his strategy.) You'll see him at work on his syndicated column: deciding on a subject, beating deadlines. There are "Firing Line" tapings, dinner with Truman Capote, visits with students and concerts (the brilliant Rosalyn Tureck playing Bach, and Rock at the Fillmore East).

Get Behind-the-Scenes

Not surprisingly, one of the activities that takes up the lion's share of Bill Buckley's time is reading and answering his voluminous correspondence. Letters are answered in planes, before TV tapings, in cars and between columns. His replies are just as illuminating and witty as you'd expect. (In fact, the correspondence comprises a quotable book-within-a-book).

In addition, "Cruising Speed" gives you a ringside seat for all the goings-on at National Review: you'll take part in an editorial conference, meet the staff, rush to beat the deadline, observe rewriting, etc. of the copy – everything that it takes to publish each issue of the magazine. "Cruising Speed" is also filled with Bill Buckley's reflections on a diverse number of topics and people: John Kenneth Galbraith, Pete Hamill, William Kunstler, Arthur Schlesinger, Playboy, his radio stations, and his decision to write the journal in the first place. Plus, there are anecdotes about Richard Nixon, his days at Yale, Hugh Heffner, NR's 15th Anniversary dinner, to name just a few!

What He Says

One of the unusual features of the book (even though it takes a documentary approach) is the wealth of pithy, quotable statements running the gamut from the serious to the light-hearted. Here are some examples:

"To me the First Amendment is more than a thing that talks about free speech, saying you've got to tolerate the point of view of others; it speaks of the spirit of humanity, the right to think, to be let alone, to breathe, to speak and assemble and to pray. And, if we don't insist on that for all of our people, we won't have it for any."

"I can understand the occasional necessity to execute people, but never to hurt their feelings . . ."

"I remember in the hour I spent with Mr. Cleaver the one thing I said to him that made him truly angry. It was that the Black Panther Party exists primarily for the satisfaction of white people . . . The white people like to strut their toleration, and strip themselves of their turtleneck sweaters to reveal their shame. The Panthers have only a few thousand black members, because the mass of the black people are too proud, too unaffected, to join the Panthers, to attend Leonard Bernstein's parties."

"One observes *very* intently an unknown speaker with whom one is debating, not unlike . . . the matador observing the bull: his approach to the subject of course, his command of the subject, the character of his appeal to the audience . . ."

"We arrived at Franam Hall where eight or ten students were waiting for us. I looked about anxiously. No whiskey, no coffee, no beer, no Coca-Cola, no ginger ale, no cider, no pretzels . . . I made a choking sound . . ."

You will never forgive yourself if you miss this opportunity to get your own copy of this book. Order it today!

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By a special arrangement with the publisher, we were able to order copies of "Cruising Speed" in bulk quantity – enabling us to save quite a bit over the retail price of the book ($6.95). We are more than happy to pass our savings on to NR readers who want a copy of this extraordinary book.

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ecutive bodies. In the meantime, federal, state and local governments will continue to award whopping (if somewhat delayed) wage increases to their employees, and there will be a 10 to 20 per cent increase in the statutory minimum wage, which will have a highly inflationary impact on the service sector of the economy.

It is ironic that in all probability inflation will significantly lessen over the next twelve months; but such a development will have little to do with Phase I or Phase II. The broad monetary and fiscal measures carried out prior to August 15 are slowly working their way through the economy. Left to itself, the private sector was responding to those measures, though more slowly and painfully than promised. Now, however, the nation is going to be saddled with an unnecessary and constitutionally questionable mishmash of bureaucratic controls. Rather than a "waystation," Phase II looks like a very costly and potentially dangerous detour off the road back to free markets.

Trail of the Dragon

A basic political turn sets into motion consequences that are in large part independent of the will of those who have engineered the turn, perhaps with very different expectations in mind. When, for example, Richard Nixon altered his helm toward détente with Communist China, it became inevitable that Peking would be offered a seat in the UN, and equally inevitable, as *NR* pointed out some months ago (see, for example, James Burnham's column, *NR*, June 29), that Taipei would be ousted unless he made the ouster a breaking point by declaring in effect: Either Taipei remains or the U.S. leaves. The President, however, had assigned the higher priority to the détente with Peking. Therefore, though he doubtless would have preferred to have Taipei remain and may even have thought—though this is hard to believe of so experienced a politician—that things could work out that way, Taipei went.

The UN shuffle in turn pulls a long train in its wake, already moving rapidly along. In spite of the formally correct arguments, made the day after the ouster from the UN proper, proving that this need not affect Taipei's membership in the affiliated agencies, UNESCO promptly threw Taipei out, and the others will follow.

But the sequence will not stop at the UN's administrative boundaries. Even before the UN action, the Nixon turn had already prompted nations on all continents to extend diplomatic recognition to Peking and withdraw it from Taipei. This process will expand until only a small number, with special reasons, keep diplomatic ties with Taipei. And Washington? After the sloppy UN performance, there is reason to wonder whether the Administration has thought this further dilemma through.

There is still on the UN books a resolution condemning Communist China as an aggressor in the Korean War. Is it to be supposed that the Peking delegation will remain long silent on that slur—which, among other things, is formally inconsistent with UN membership? Can anyone believe the Chinese delegation's motion to expunge it from the record will fail to win a majority? And how soon will a motion be introduced demanding that U.S. military forces be withdrawn "from Chinese soil"?

Nor will Taiwan escape the inevitable reverberations. The logic of the UN's action—accepted and legitimized by the U.S. through our participation in the voting and our continued functioning as an integral, voting UN member (see Wm. F. Buckley's article in this issue)—not only defines Taiwan as part of China (which both Peking and Taipei also affirm) but recognizes the Mainland (i.e., Communist-ruled) section as the "real" China, and Taiwan in its limbo as therefore merely a dissident

". . . and we are thankful most of all that what we are about to receive has not yet been declared unsafe by Ralph Nader."

The Last Review

The British ships file past;
  The planes fly overhead.
Goodbye to kings and caste;
  The old impulse is dead.
The juices don't ignite;
  The spirit fails to soar.
There's no more appetite:
  Farewell to Singapore.

W. H. von Dreele

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("bandit-ruled") limb of Chinese territory. That logic foretells the appearance, before long, of political movements and pressures to reunite Taiwan with the motherland: i.e., to force the fourteen million people of Taiwan under totalitarian Communist rule. These will be pushed by Peking and its agents, but will arise also, more or less spontaneously, from the logic of the situation in the UN and in Taiwan itself.

We have here mentioned only a few of the lesser and more obvious consequences that can be predicted, leaving aside the probable meaning of the Peking turn for the world strategic equilibrium. What gains exactly, we cannot help wondering, does the President expect to show for all that is going to be lost?

And oh yes: a new Ping-Pong Chinese Kitchen has just opened down the street, and Chinese styling is already on display in the boutiques.

Is Rehnquist a Counterrevolutionary?

As noted above, the machine is turning on the new candidates for the Supreme Court, most conspicuously on Mr. William Rehnquist, and for most interesting reasons.

Mr. Lewis Powell is the traditional conservative. He does not believe that the Supreme Court should be the battering ram of social agitation, using the Constitution as its instrument. *Stare decisis*, for Mr. Powell, would appear to mean that so also should be let stand the decisions which added up to the revolution caused by the Warren Court during the past two decades. Indeed, one can understand this as being a "conservative" position.

Mr. Rehnquist, to judge from a sample of his writings over the years (as reproduced with palpable horror in a *New York Times* dispatch) seems to be saying not only that the Warren Court strayed from the paths of constitutionalism, but that something ought to be done about it. He is pretty well on record as believing that the Court has been traveling in the wrong direction, and although he hasn't said it in as many words, he appears to mean that there is no known reason why the Court should not reorient itself (it is inevitable that one of his interrogators in the Senate will ask him if he believes you can turn back the clock). For instance, he wrote a letter to the *Washington Post* after the Carswell rejection saying: "Your editorial clearly implies that to the extent the judge [Carswell] falls short of your civil rights standards, he does so because of anti-Negro, anti-civil rights animus, rather than because of a judicial philosophy which consistently applied would reach a conservative result both in civil rights cases and other areas of the law." He went on to express himself as opposed to the "restoration of the Warren Court's liberal majority" because it would cause "not merely further expansion of constitutional recognition of civil rights, but further expansion of the constitutional rights of criminal defendants, of pornographers and of demonstrators."

An exciting idea, which the liberals will need to cope with. On the one hand they believe in the freedom of a jurist to interpret the Constitution in either of the two dominant traditions, the so-called strict constructionist, and the social activist. But it is implicit that they believe in social activism in behalf of fashionable objectives. What about a jurist who is socially active in behalf of unfashionable objectives? We do believe they never thought of that.

Chilean Notes

Secretary of State Rogers' warning that U.S. aid to Chile would stop unless prompt compensation is paid U.S. copper companies for their confiscated property was met by predictable "Rogers Threatens Chile Again" headlines in Santiago. Even the clergy (bishops are not *yet* appointed by President Allende) jumped on the bandwagon and supported the letter from Raul Cardinal Silve Henriquez to the Synod of Bishops in Rome defending the "morality" of the copper grab. The cant response is understandable. Though U.S. aid to Chile since World War II totals $1.3 billion, in the past years it has been negligible. But what will affect all outside investment in Chile and her underdeveloped neighbors is the catastrophic loss of between $200 million and $300 million faced by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation set up by Congress last January to insure private United States investors abroad and almost bankrupt because of Allende's "excess profits" maneuver. The agency must return to Congress for fresh financing and if it doesn't get it, Chile has cut her nose off. . . . Allende's press antics are finally attracting notice. Inter American Press Association authorized a six-section protest "to the Marxist government of President Salvador Allende of Chile against repressive measures taken against independent newspapers of that nation," pointing in particular to "the case when publishers of *El Mercurio* were (falsely) accused of harboring arsenals and armed groups." . . . Domestically, the economy deteriorates by the hour. Christian Democratic Party calls it "the worst economic crisis in [Chile's] history," and Allende himself admits, "we are headed for an irremediable failure in the short run." Chileans blaming government-induced buying spree when wages were increased 40 to 60 per cent while controls were put on consumer goods prices. . . . Support for Allende's Unidad Popular is beginning to erode in other quarters. Luis Corvalán, Communist Party Secretary General, acknowledges that Chile's Marxist regime is losing public support as evidenced by recent student elections where Unidad Popular candidates lost. Some union and professional groups report big drop in UP enthusiasm and at a meeting of Chile's Commerce and Production Confederation, the speakers who drew most applause were those calling for "political action" against the Marxist government.

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Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
In your magazine of August 24, there was a classified advertisement under Situations Wanted in which Box 007, Thule, Greenland was given as the address. However, my letter to that address came back marked "Ubekendt Inconnu." Did you print the wrong address?

Yours truly,
Susan Matcovich
Pearl River, New York

Dear Miss Matcovich:
The classified read: "TOP SECRET PAPERS WRITTEN to your specification. Any diplomatic or military topic. Inquiries (use plain envelope) on official stationery will be answered promptly and estimate given. Experienced former NR *staff writer. Box 007, Thule, Greenland." Mr. Inconnu never stays anywhere for very long. You should have written earlier.*

—WFB

■ To the Editor,
Newsday
I have just seen the letter you published by Mr. Louis Eackloff (April 23), wherein he found it "unbelievable that *Newsday* continues to carry the Buckley column. It persists in being full of fabrications, deceit and intentional distortions. His article on Chile is a complete distortion. . . . He completely forgets to mention his family's oil and mining interests in Chile." Not only did I forget to mention my family's oil and mining interests in Chile, my father forgot to tell us he had oil and mining interests in Chile. But since we forgot we had them, it hurts us less that they should now be taken from us without compensation. I wonder, by the way, why Mr. Eackloff forgot to mention that Allende is his father-in-law?

Yours cordially
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

■ To the Chairman,
Yale Daily News
I have seen the review of *Cruising Speed* by Mr. Seth Walworth, 1975, (October 19) which is largely amiable, for which I thank him. However, two points.

He quotes me as writing, "The continuing challenge of NATIONAL REVIEW is to urge the advantages to everyone of the rediscovery of America . . . and above all the need for subordinating the private vision over the public vision."

Not quite. I wrote about "the need for *super*ordinating the private vision over the public vision." A typo, no doubt. Mr. Walworth shouldn't feel too bad about it. A newspaper out West quoted me on the need for "superordinating the private vision over the pubic vision" which, by the way, I am also in favor of.

And then Mr. Walworth says that I am too vague, that I don't offer specific proposals. "Thus Mr. Buckley fails (on perhaps his most important objective) to present his philosophy as the viable alternative to modern liberalism. . . . to this reviewer, at least, Mr. Buckley will need to write another book in order to win any converts." Mr. Walworth will find my municipal recommendations, down to the specificity of bikeways, detailed in my book, *The Unmaking of a Mayor*. And my national and cosmic recommendations detailed in my textbook, *American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century*, in the American Heritage Series edited by Professor Leonard Levy. Tempting me to the observation that Mr. Walworth will need, before rejecting my conservative blandishments, to read another book.

Yours cordially,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

■ Letters Department
Dallas Morning News
Dallas, Texas
Sirs:
Mr. William Buckley in his *News* column June 23 states that he "cohabits comfortably with [H. L.] Mencken." Thus by his own confession he is both a homosexual and a necrophile. It's bad enough when the *News* runs a "comic" strip by one Al Capp, charged on not one but three counts with morals charges against young minor girls. When will the *News* in all good taste begin to draw the line?

Very truly yours,
Edward Grimes
Dallas, Texas

"COHABIT 1. [OED] To dwell or live together. 1601 F Godwin Bps of Eng. *201 A certaine number of schollers do cohabite with the Cannons. 1667 South Serm.* Ps *lxxxvii. 2 They were not able to cohabit with that Holy Thing (the Ark). 1726 De Foe* Hist. Devil *1. xi. (1840) 174 The wise and righteous generation that we cohabit with and among. 1809 Kendall* Trav. *I vii 63 All that . . . do cohabit within this jurisdiction. 1971. Buckley.* NR *Vol XXIII I cohabit most comfortably with Mencken in his insistence that the government is the natural enemy 'of all well disposed decent and industrious men.'" Grimes, baby, I'd hate to see your Rohrshach test.*

—WFB

■ In this issue we drop from the masthead Mrs. Mabel Wood, whose name appeared in Volume I, Number 1. Mrs. Wood, who is retiring, has a distinguished career as copy and production editor and designer, skills which she taught formally to college audiences, and informally to generations of young apprentices at *Plain Talk*, at the *Freeman* Magazine, and at NATIONAL REVIEW. A warm and lovely lady. And a perfectionist, which no doubt is why she and *NR* found each other. We bid her an affectionate farewell, and record here our gratitude to her.

—WFB

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2. *start getting The Economy Report regularly—it will bring you a wealth of information that can save you money**

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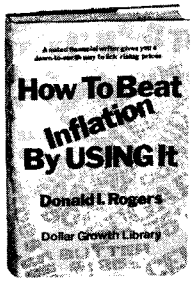

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JAMES BURNHAM

The Protracted Conflict

WHO MAKES HISTORY?

On the trip to Europe from which I have just returned, there chanced to be an eight-day period during which I (and my companions) had no news at all of "the world." We were isolated from all media, printed, photographed or electronic; we got no letters, messages or telephone calls. It was a small enough incident for mankind, but a rather gigantic experience for me. I normally spend several hours a day downing newspapers and magazines one after the other, with plenty of radio and some TV newscasts for chasers, as if the earth might start wobbling on its axis without my untiring vigil. So when I emerged from my Aegean blackout—at the busy and cosmopolitan city of Rhodes, as it happened—I automatically headed for the news kiosks, loaded up with papers and magazines from half a dozen countries, and settled down to catch up on what had happened to the world while I was off duty.

Of course, reading with a cleared eye and dried-out brain, it was quickly obvious, in spite of the customary flaming headlines and frantic prose, that nothing much had happened.

I soon, in fact, got bored with the paragraphs that were somehow already stale even though I had never seen them before, and starting thinking about these media (detestable word, but I know no substitute) on which so many of us, nearly all of us in the technologically advanced nations, are nowadays hooked. It did not take long to conclude: The media are indeed dreadful, worse and far more destructive of the public weal than poor Spiro Agnew has dared suggest.

The dreadfulness was glaring from the evidence before me: in those five hundred-decibel headlines screaming

!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

about trivialities, the twisted stories suppressing any deviation from editorial axioms, the Expert interpretations spun out of airy nothings. These last were especially prominent that day. It was the week when something or other was supposed to have happened in China. One specialist proved Mao was dead; another, that Lin had been put in prison, or maybe had taken over as Number One; a columnist reported a coup attempt by generals who had been shot down while escaping to Russia; an Old China Hand ruminated on the politburo. Of course all these accounts and analyses were pulled out of totally empty hats. No one had the slightest evidence of what had happened or whether anything *had* happened, the latter being highly probable—in any case, the whole episode is by now dead and forgotten.

The Vice President is a thousand times right in stating that the influential media are, by and large, ideologically biased, but I feel their primordial and gravest sin is sensationalism. Adapted to the era of mass communication, they must reverberate continually with crises, famines, crossroads, disasters, confrontations, catastrophes, deadlines, threats, fatal decisions and eleventh hours. In the good old days of yellow journalism, the sensationalism was mostly compounded out of simple, traditional and comparatively harmless ingredients like murder, sex, graft and orgies. But now the material includes such terribly dangerous stuff as human rights, genocide, liberty, race, peace, guilt and justice.

In the natural course of events apart from the media, crises, catastrophes, final confrontations, fatal turning points and the like are few and far between; and when they do crop up it is not usually according to the patterns prescribed by any ideology. The vampire-media, however, must have all these daily, and in abundance, to keep their machinery turning. Therefore, since the crises do not otherwise exist in sufficient quantity, the media must invent them. But once the crises have come into being in the columns of the press, the voices of the news teams and the shadows on the screen, the causal chain completes a dialectical circle by conjuring them into existence, also, in historical reality. Riots, revolts, war crimes, irreconcilable disputes, racism, demoralization that are created if not quite ex nihilo, at most ex parvissimo, by the internal exigencies of the mass media take on monstrous flesh in the extra-media world. The diplomat or official or general cannot back down and compromise as he had intended to do, because the media chain him to the intransigent rhetoric he initially adopted for bargaining purposes. The student, ghetto dweller, dissatisfied subtropical peasant or neurotic misfit has got to live up to the frenetic image the media give him, and trash, burn, shoot, or steal an airplane. I think it very likely that if not for the media the UN would have managed a compromise on the Peking-Taipei issue. And the media will never forgive Pakistan and India if they don't start a war this winter.

As for Those Motes

Although the fact is never put this way, the global media, private and governmental and inclusive of their affiliates, farm clubs and subsidiaries in the academies, pulpits, cinema, theater, think-tanks and other symbol factories, are one of the world's largest industries, possibly the next largest after war. Like all other huge industries, they strive for monopoly privileges. Toward that end they have found that Free Speech, supplemented when expedient by the garden of rights that in this country has flowered out of the First, Fourth and Fifth Amendments, is more potent a weapon than Excalibur. In the usage of the media (and the media's lawyers), Free Speech is an unrestricted license to commit any symbolic enormity, no matter what the non-symbolic consequences.

I will not argue that *NR* and my own journalistic writings are holier-than-thou exceptions, though I believe that, perhaps because we are only on the fringe of mass communication, we are not quite so raging as our big brothers. But when everyone is shouting, you don't have much chance to be heard if you speak only in whispers.

Come to think of it, I guess I have been illustrating what I have been writing about. □

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THE BURGER COURT

In his first full year as Chief Justice, Earl Burger, with an assist from Harry Blackmun, moved the Court to the right. Mr. Nixon's new appointments could give Mr. Burger the allies he needs to complete the conversion

The High Court—Where Now?

JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, CBS sent Eric Sevareid around to interview Hugo Black in the Justice's home on Lee Street in Old Town, Alexandria. In the course of their hour's conversation, the talk got around to the Supreme Court's landmark decision of 1954 in the school segregation cases. Sevareid threw the old gentleman a hanging curve.

Some sixty years earlier, Sevareid recalled, the Court had found it constitutional for the states to maintain segregated schools. In 1954, however, the Court had found the practice unconstitutional. Sevareid rubbed a little spit on the ball: "The Constitution hadn't changed in the meanwhile, had it?"

Black smiled his gentle smile, tented his fingertips, and watched the curve slide by. "No," he said. "No. But the judges had changed."

It was a called strike; and it was a moment of truth. Justice William O. Douglas acknowledged the same fact of judicial life this past January: "Changes in membership do change decisions; and those changes are expected at the level of constitutional law."

This is the way the world is. Black knew it; Douglas knows it; Richard Nixon and the United States Senate are keenly aware of the fact this fall. The myth that "ours is a government of law, not men," is infinitely cherished, and it is infinitely hollow. Probably it ought not to be this way—Black himself cried out, in a citizenship case last April, that the Fourteenth Amendment "should not be blown around by every passing political wind that changes the composition of this Court." But when two new members at last take their seats and begin to construe the Constitution, passing political winds of course will shape our shorelines. The Constitution will not have changed; but the judges will have changed. And taking one day next to another, it is all the same thing.

That is why Nixon's appointments are so crucial. With Warren Earl Burger at the helm and Harry Blackmun at his side, the Court last term was palpably shifting its course to starboard. Especially in the area of criminal law, but in other troubled waters as well, a new majority was steering in new directions. Yet now and again the course wavered. The winds faltered. The liberal bloc suffered with the loss of Hugo Black. The retirement of John Marshall Harlan dealt a harder blow to conservatives. It would be pleasant, of course, to see them replaced by new members who are judicious, scholarly, distinguished, literate and all the rest. None of this really counts. What matters—what will matter for the next twenty years—is their cast of mind. If Nixon can win the confirmation of two judges with Harlan's cast of mind, we will live for a time under one Constitution; if we wind up instead with two latent Blacks, we will honor a very different Constitution. The supreme law of the land will not have changed by a single comma; but the judges will have changed.

Nixon's Legacy

In domestic affairs, at least, this power to appoint judges is a President's ultimate power. It is in some ways the only Presidential power worth having. A President's speeches may be forgotten; his pet bills may be repealed; he returns from his successor's inauguration to find his papers on the sidewalk—but his judges sit serenely after he has gone. Harding served only a couple of years before he died in August of 1923, but he managed nonetheless to get four Justices confirmed. Taft and Sanford served to 1930, Butler to 1939, Sutherland to 1942. Franklin Delano Roosevelt put nine men on the Court. Byrnes resigned after sixteen months but the other eight outlived him; Douglas is serving yet. Nixon's opportunity—and as a practicing lawyer, he real-

Mr. Kilpatrick was for many years editor of the Richmond News-Leader. *He is now a columnist for the Washington Star Syndicate and a popular lecturer and TV commentator. He has written extensively on the Supreme Court. He will be doing a series on the Democratic Presidential candidates for* NR *in the next few months.*

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izes this more clearly than any President since Taft—is to leave his lengthened shadow on the slopes of Olympus.

This was in Nixon's mind on the evening of October 21. Nominations to the High Court are "by far the most important appointments" a President makes. "Presidents come and go, but the Supreme Court, through its decisions, goes on forever." Except for his contribution to the cause of peace, said Nixon, "there is probably no more important legacy that a President can leave in these times than his appointments to the Supreme Court." In nominating Lewis F. Powell of Virginia and William Rehnquist of Arizona, the President openly and deliberately sought men who are known to share his own judicial philosophy: "I would imagine that it may be charged that they are conservatives." Once confirmed, they will of course be their own men; but their general cast of mind, Nixon hopes, will stay fixed in a conservative mold.

To be sure, the President could win their confirmation and still lose in history. There is no guarantee that a nominee's cast of mind will not change once he takes a life-tenured seat. Presidents often have been disappointed: Eisenhower, let it be recalled, put William J. Brennan on the Court. Wilson put on McReynolds. But the exceptions ought not to be belabored. More often than not, the system works. If Hubert Humphrey had won in 1968, Burger and Blackmun would not be sitting today; and to make the point once more —we would have a different Constitution.

The Lineup

The Supreme Court handed down 121 written opinions in its 1970-71 term. Twenty-eight of these were 5 to 4 decisions. Of the 28, eight dealt with statutory questions. The rest were cases arising under the Constitution.

Even the most casual examination of the twenty constitutional cases will tell us something of constant men and of changing law.

The Court conservatives won thirteen, lost six, and emerged from *U.S.* v. *Arizona* with a tie.

Burger and Blackmun (irreverently known as the Minnesota Twins) voted as one in all twenty cases. On the liberal side, Douglas, Brennan and Marshall voted with identical consistency:

They never once broke ranks on a constitutional issue.

White joined the two constant conservatives in sixteen of the twenty cases, Harlan and Stewart in fifteen of them, Black in only nine.

Consider the thirteen cases in which the conservatives prevailed: Harlan provided a decisive fifth vote in nine of them.

Six of the twenty constitutional decisions involved questions of a defendant's rights in criminal law. The conservative bloc won all six of these. They merit a passing look.

In *Dutton* v. *Evans*, the Court in effect sustained the conviction of Alex S. Evans for his part in the brutal murder of three Georgia police officers in 1964. Evans had contended, in a habeas corpus proceeding, that the trial court had committed fatal error by admitting the hearsay testimony of a witness against him. The constitutional question went to the right of confrontation guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment. Justice Stewart, speaking for the conservatives, found no merit in Evans' case. He went to some pains to quote Cardozo in a case decided in 1934:

> There is danger that the criminal law will be brought into contempt . . . if gossamer possibilities of prejudice to a defendant are to nullify a sentence pronounced by a court of competent jurisdiction in obedience to local law, and set the guilty free.

Marshall, Black, Douglas and Brennan dissented. They felt the majority had reached a result "completely inconsistent with recent opinions of this Court." And indeed the majority had.

In *Piccirillo* v. *New York*, the Court at first had agreed to full-scale review of the conviction of Ralph Piccirillo for the attempted bribery of a New York police officer. The conviction was the outgrowth of certain grand-jury proceedings. Piccirillo, who was then serving time for assault, had been promised immunity from prosecution for any offenses that might be inferred from his own testimony. As it turned out, the police officer also testified, and the grand jury, putting one thing with another, indicted Piccirillo. The case appeared to raise a Fifth Amendment question of far-reaching importance, involving a defendant's right to avoid self-incrimination, but a five-man majority of the Court simply dismissed the appeal without reaching the merits.

Marshall, Black, Douglas and Brennan dissented. Black wanted to remand the case to the Court of Appeals of New York; his colleagues wanted to reverse the conviction outright. Brennan angrily charged the majority with retreating behind a "smokescreen" in order to avoid a Fifth Amendment case the Court was compelled to decide.

In *Harris* v. *New York*, the Court dealt with the conviction of Viven Harris for twice selling heroin to an undercover police officer. Harris testified in his own defense at his trial and denied everything. He then was cross-examined on the basis of his answers to questions at the time of his arrest some months earlier. The prosecution conceded that Harris had not been given the "*Miranda* warning" before he was questioned; his answers to interrogation therefore could not be used directly. The constitutional question whether the use of these answers, solely for purposes of impeach-

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ing his credibility, was a violation of the defendant's Sixth Amendment right to the assistance of counsel.

Speaking for the five-man majority, Burger plunged at *Miranda* v. *Arizona* like a linebacker with a clear track to a quarterback. The *Miranda* decision of 1966, written by Chief Justice Earl Warren himself, generally is regarded as one of the two or three most extravagant decisions of the Warren Court in the field of criminal law. Warren reportedly has viewed his authorship of *Miranda*, with its breathtaking expansion of Sixth Amendment rights, as one of his finest achievements. Burger was not impressed.

"Some comments in the *Miranda* opinion," he said, "can indeed be read as indicating a bar to use of an uncounseled statement for any purpose, but discussion of that issue was not at all necessary to the Court's holding and cannot be regarded as controlling."

Not content with that deliberate snub, Burger added a blunt sentence to rub it in: "The shield provided by *Miranda* cannot be perverted into a license to use perjury by way of a defense, free from the risk of confrontation with prior inconsistent utterances."

Black, Brennan, Douglas and Marshall dissented. Brennan was plainly aghast. Under the *Miranda* decision, Harris' uncounseled answers to police questions were tainted for want of the required warning. In his view, they could not be used at all. *Miranda* had "settled this proposition." Now the Burger majority was jeopardizing values that had occupied a central place in our jurisprudence since before the nation's birth. Moreover, "it is monstrous that courts should aid or abet the lawbreaking police officer."

"The Court," said Brennan, "today tells the police that they may freely interrogate an accused incommunicado and without counsel, and know that although any statement they obtain in violation of *Miranda* can't be used on the state's direct case, it may be introduced if the defendant has the temerity to testify in his own defense. This goes far toward undoing much of the progress made in conforming police methods to the Constitution. I dissent."

Practical, Not Abstract

In *California* v. *Byers*, the Court again took up the constitutional question of self-incrimination. The case arose in 1966 when a California motorist, Jonathan Todd Byers, was charged under the state's hit-and-run statute with failing to stop after an accident and to identify himself. The defendant contended that the law violated his constitutional privilege. Burger again spoke for the Court in finding no conflict between the law and the Constitution. To hold otherwise would be an "extravagant extension" of the Fifth Amendment clause. Burger tossed in some dicta by way of reaffirming prior holdings:

> The act of stopping is no more testimonial—indeed less so in some respects—than requiring a person in custody to stand or walk in a police lineup, to speak prescribed words, to give samples of handwriting, fingerprints or blood.

After all, Burger emphasized, to be "involved in an accident" is not necessarily to be charged with a criminal offense. The compelled disclosure of a driver's identity might lead to such a charge, but "there is no constitutional right to flee the scene of an accident in order to avoid the possibility of legal entanglement."

Harlan filed a long concurring opinion. Black, Douglas, Brennan and Marshall dissented. Black was furious:

> The plurality opinion, if agreed to by a majority of the Court, would practically wipe out the Fifth Amendment's protection against compelled self-incrimination . . . In erasing this principle from the Constitution, the plurality opinion retreats from a cherished guarantee of liberty fashioned by James Madison and the other founders of what they gladly proclaimed to be our free government. One need only read with care the past cases cited in today's opinions to understand the shrinking process to which the Court today subjects a vital safeguard of our Bill of Rights.

In *McKeiver* v. *Pennsylvania*, the Court tackled the question of whether the Constitution assures a right to jury trial in the adjudicative phase of a state juvenile court delinquency proceeding. Blackmun spoke for the Court in saying no. Such a requirement, he said, would carry with it "the traditional delay, the formality and the clamor of the adversary system and, possibly the public trial." Juvenile hearings thus would be equated with full-blown criminal trials. The effect would be to lose sight of those aspects of fairness, of concern, of sympathy and of paternal attention that the juvenile court system contemplates.

"If the formalities of the criminal adjudicative process are to be superimposed upon the juvenile court system," said Blackmun, "there is little need for its separate existence. Perhaps that ultimate disillusionment will come one day, but for the moment we are disinclined to give impetus to it."

White and Harlan filed separate concurring opinions, emphasizing their conviction that nothing in the Constitution requires the states to provide jury trials in juvenile courts. Douglas, Black, Marshall and Brennan dissented. (Brennan's dissent was confined to one of two cases that were lumped together.) Douglas spoke for the minority in strongly upholding a juvenile's right, in an essentially criminal proceeding, to all the safeguards provided by the Bill of Rights.

Finally, in *United States* v. *Harris*,

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the Court considered the constitutional sufficiency of a search warrant that led to the conviction of a North Carolina bootlegger. Under the Fourth Amendment, warrants cannot issue except on "probable cause." Here the warrant was based partly upon Harris' reputation as a known moonshiner, and partly upon the statements of an unidentified informant, described as "a person who fears for their life should their name be revealed." In two major decisions of the Warren years, *Aguilar* v. *Texas* in 1964 and *Spinelli* v. *United States* in 1969, the Court had refused to sanction search warrants lacking corroboration of an informant's reliability.

A five-man majority, speaking through Chief Justice Burger, approved the warrant and affirmed the conviction. Burger recalled with approval a 1965 decision in which Justice Arthur Goldberg had spoken of the Fourth Amendment's commands as "practical and not abstract." Affidavits, Goldberg had said, "must be tested in a common-sense and realistic fashion." Burger also recalled a comment by Justice Abe Fortas, dissenting in the *Aguilar* case, that a policeman's affidavit "should not be judged as an entry in an essay contest." Applying his own common sense to the facts at hand, Burger found the affidavit sufficient.

What the Judges Say

This time the Court's lineup was different. Black came over to the majority, with a blunt recommendation that *Aguilar* and *Spinelli* be discarded outright. Harlan joined Douglas, Marshall and Brennan in dissent. To Harlan, the affidavit could not be sustained "without cutting deeply into the core requirements of the Fourth Amendment."

So much for the six criminal cases decided by 5 to 4 votes in the Court's last term. Except for *Harris*, each of the cases saw Burger, Harlan, Stewart, White and Blackmun on the prevailing side, and Black, Douglas, Brennan and Marshall on the losing side. Taken as a whole, the six cases plainly signal a retreat from the far-out positions that had been taken by the Warren Court in criminal law. This was precisely what Nixon had urged at the time of Burger's nomination in May of 1969. Speaking to a small group of correspondents at the White House, the President made it clear that he felt such decisions as *Miranda* and *Aguilar* had gone too far. He hoped to see them rolled back a little. He believed that Burger shared that view; and this was one reason for the nomination.

Nixon returned to this theme in his televised address of October 21:

> Over the past few years, many cases have come before the Court involving that delicate balance between the rights of society and the rights of defendants accused of crimes against society. And honest and dedicated constitutional lawyers have disagreed as to where and how to maintain that balance.
>
> As a judicial conservative, I believe some court decisions have gone too far in the past in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces in our society. In maintaining, as it must be maintained, the delicate balance between the rights of society and the rights of defendants accused of crimes, I believe the peace forces must not be denied the legal tools they need to protect the innocent from criminal elements. And I believe we can strengthen the hand of the peace forces without compromising our precious principle that the rights of individuals accused of crimes must always be protected.

As the past two terms of Court have demonstrated, Burger and Blackmun share the President's view absolutely. Burger repeatedly has insisted that the proper object of our judicial system is not necessarily a perfect trial, but simply a fair trial. Blackmun has agreed, as in the Father Groppi case last term, that matters of "abstract constitutional law" are subordinate to the primary issue: Did the defendant receive a fair trial? Powell and Rehnquist, the President's nominees for the vacant Black and Harlan seats, are known to be in general agreement. With the reasonably consistent help of White and Stewart, a six-man bloc (Burger, Blackmun, White, Stewart, Powell, Rehnquist) might be expected to continue the rollback process. The Constitution would not have changed; only the judges would have changed.

Hughes' famous truism—that the Constitution is what the judges say it is—was underscored in one of two alien cases decided in the past term by 5 to 4 votes. In *Rogers* v. *Bellei*, the Conservative Five, speaking through Blackmun, gave a strictly literal reading to the Fourteenth Amendment's definition of a citizen as a person "born or naturalized in the United States." The expatriated plaintiff, Aldo Mario Bellei, had not been born "in the United States." He had been born in Italy.

Neither had he been naturalized "in the United States." He had not been naturalized at all. His claim for U.S. citizenship derived from his Philadelphia-born mother, but the Nationality Act requires that such citizens must "come to the United States prior to attaining the age of 23 years and . . . be continuously physically present in the United States for at least five years." Bellei had failed to meet the statutory requirement. Though it meant an edging away from certain expansive and liberalizing decisions of the Warren years, the Conservative Five had no problem in ruling against Bellei's claim.

The Winds of . . .

It was in this case that Black exploded with his indignant assertion that rights under the Fourteenth Amendment "should not be blown around by every passing political wind that changes the composition of this Court." He denied that the Five had imposed a "strict" construction. Rather, they had been guided by their own view that the applicable clause of the Nationality Act was not unreasonable, arbitrary or unfair.

"Of course, the Court's construction of the Constitution is not a 'strict' one," Black insisted. "On the contrary, it proceeds on the premise that a majority of this Court can change the Consti-

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tution day by day, month by month, and year by year, according to its shifting notions of what is fair, reasonable and right . . . This is the loosest construction that could be employed."

But there were some beautiful ironies here. Black was furious because Blackmun's 5 to 4 opinion in *Bellei* overruled Black's own 5 to 4 opinion of 1967 in *Afroyim* v. *Rusk*, which at that time overruled Frankfurter's 5 to 4 opinion of 1958 in *Perez* v. *Brownell*. Same Fourteenth Amendment; same Nationality Act; different judges.

The importance of the one judge seldom has been emphasized more vividly than in *United States* v. *Arizona*, decided on December 21 of last year. This consolidated four test cases, challenging the power of Congress to extend a right to vote to eighteen-year-olds in all elections, both for state and federal office. The Court split down the middle. Burger, Harlan, Stewart and Blackmun were convinced that Congress did not have the power. Douglas, Brennan, White and Marshall were equally convinced that it did. This left Black supremely alone. He thereupon announced the judgments of the Court "in an opinion expressing his own view of the cases."

It was the worst single opinion that Black ever wrote, and it is a pity that his career should have ended with *U.S.* v. *Arizona* among his final pronouncements. It was Black's proud boast, throughout his last years on the Court, especially in First and Fourth Amendment cases, that he was the strictest constructionist of them all. He read "no law" in the First to mean "no law." He read "persons, houses, papers and effects" in the Fourth to mean precisely that, so as to exclude the action of police in recording one's voice. He delighted in denouncing his colleagues for putting their own loose constructions upon plain words.

Humpty-Dumpty Justice

But in the voting-rights case, Black made a travesty of his own professions. He abandoned every principle of strict construction he ever had espoused. He took the word "manner" from Article I (in the clause authorizing Congress to regulate the times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives), and simply amended it to read "qualifications" instead. And though the clause explicitly is limited to elections "for senators and representatives," he ruled blandly that "it is the prerogative of Congress to oversee the conduct of Presidential and Vice Presidential elections and to set the qualifications for voters for electors for those offices." This was in the teeth of the Article II commandment that "each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors . . ." Until Black delivered his "own view of the cases," it was elementary constitutional doctrine that there is no such thing as a "federal election." There are only state elections for national office. Whenever we act politically, we act as citizens of our states, not as citizens of the United States. Black autocratically brushed all that aside: "Acting under its broad authority to create and to maintain a national government, Congress unquestionably has power under the Constitution to regulate federal elections. . . . Essential to the survival and to the growth of our national government is its power to fill its elective offices . . ."

Stewart, dissenting, sputtered in vain that when the Framers of the Constitution "meant qualifications, they said 'qualifications.'" Harlan thundered that the power to fix such qualifications "was expressly committed to the states." Sound constitutional doctrine, said Harlan, required a ruling that eighteen-year-old voting could be accomplished "only by constitutional amendment." Harlan then delivered himself of a thoughtful paragraph that ranks among the finest passages of his work:

> It must be recognized, of course, that the amending process is not the only way in which constitutional understanding alters with time. The judiciary has long been entrusted with the task of applying the Constitution in changing circumstances, and as conditions change the Constitution in a sense changes as well. But when the Court gives the langauge of the Constitution an unforeseen application, it does so, whether explicitly or implicitly, in the name of some underlying purpose of the Framers. This is necessarily so; the federal judiciary, which by express constitutional provision is appointed for life, and therefore cannot be held responsible by the electorate, has no inherent general authority to establish the norms for the rest of society. It is limited to elaboration and application of the precepts ordained in the Constitution by the political representatives of the people. When the Court disregards the express intent and understanding of the Framers, it has invaded the realm of the political process to which the amending power was committed, and it has violated the constitutional structure which it is its highest duty to protect.

Yet for all the eloquence of Harlan's statement, the reality remains: The "intent of the Framers" cannot be determined by computer analysis or by divine revelation. It can only be determined by mortal men; reading history, pondering precedents. Their understanding and judgment inevitably must be affected by their own cast of mind, so that greater weight is given to this, and lesser weight is given to that; and in the end, the Court must construe the words of the Constitution as finally as any Humpty-Dumpty: Words will mean what the judges choose them to mean and neither more nor less. The question, eternally, is who is to be master, that's all.

This question lies at the very heart of both a President's power to appoint members of the Court and the Senate's power to consent to his appointments. On the exercise of these powers the whole meaning of the Constitution must always depend. In its immediate application to our everyday lives, the Constitution is only abstractly a document of the ages. It is more accurately a document as fresh as this morning's paper, edited by five judges who hold its meaning in their hands. □

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A PRIMER IN LOGIC

Humbug for Beginners

ARNOLD LUNN

PERHAPS one of the most influential of recent contributions to philosophy is *Situation Ethics* by Dr. Joseph Fletcher. A study of "Situation Sincerity," crudely known as "Humbug," would be invaluable, for outstanding success in many careers. But it is almost unobtainable except by those who have mastered the technique of Humbug. I am at work on a book, the title of which, *Humbug for Beginners*, is, to my regret, insisted on by my publishers in order to appeal to a wider public than "Situation Sincerity."

I write primarily for beginners, whose first attempts at humbug may be compared with the would-be secretary learning to type, who can only strike the right keys by conscious effort, whereas the finger movements of the expert typist are instinctive. Similarly, the humbug of the expert is often purely instinctive and unconscious. The insincerity which is unconscious is, in effect, indistinguishable from sincerity, and for that reason very effective, self-deception being a very important factor in the deception of others.

Thus the early fathers of Communism, unlike the modern rulers of Soviet Russia, had been completely successful in persuading themselves that "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was realizable, and equally uncritical in their faith in "the magic of words."

"They believe," as Laurens van der Post acutely observes in *Journey into Russia*, "in the power of words to alter reality. . . . I am certain that the founders of *l'Humanité* [the French Communist paper] thought that the title was enough to make its concern humanitarian and its nature human."

Not even the Communists have a livelier faith in "the power of words to alter reality" than the Olympic Committee, many of whom still quote with shattering sincerity the Olympic cliché that "the important thing is not to win but to compete," a cliché which admittedly has a certain nostalgic charm.

The all-important thing for those ambitious to achieve prominence on controling bodies in modern sport is to realize that what matters is not the old-world distinction between "amateurs" and "professionals" but the distinction between words which are nice and words which are nasty. In politics "democrat" is a nice word, "fascist" a nasty word. The Russians are therefore democrats and their critics fascists. In Olympic sport "amateur" and "broken-time compensation" are nice words, "professional" and "salary" nasty words. All Communists are ipso facto "situation amateurs." Many Olympic skiers who receive "broken-time compensation" follow the winter from the northern to the southern hemisphere, and ski for ten months in the year, which does not leave much time to be "broken." Some of them who come from simple mountain homes are to be seen driving their own expensive and highpowered cars, paid for, it would seem, from the proceeds of rupturing time.

I am vain enough to hope that the chapter on the political and social importance of selective indignation will be helpful to those for whom the book is written. *Humbug for Beginners* is not an ethical treatise, and is solely concerned with a successful career in *this* world, with human nature as it *is* and not with human nature as it *should be*. It is, for instance, only a minority who welcome the opportunity of organized and public protest against any form of persecution, injustice or oppression which has no injurious effect on themselves, their families or their friends. On the other hand, it is of great importance for those in public life to make occasional pronouncements either in the press or on public platforms, in support of those racial groups, the Jews and the Negroes for instance, which are noted for their *ésprit de corps*.

Christian *ésprit de corps* is fortunately so weak that it can be ignored except, perhaps, where a religious group is identified with a racial group, as in Ulster. During a recent visit to Ulster, Mr. William Buckley, editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, met a bewildered English journalist.

"Since I came here," said the journalist, "I've heard nothing but talk about Catholics and Protestants. 'Are there really no atheists in Ulster?' I asked a chap the other day. 'Of course there are,' he replied, 'there are Catholic atheists and Protestant atheists.'"

In 1967 252 MPs delivered a joint protest to the Russian embassy against the treatment of Jews in Russia, and there have been continual protests by politicians and ecclesiastics about the treatment of Negroes in South Africa, but there are no organized Christian protests against religious apartheid in Russia. Why this contrast? Because, so we are assured, the kind of organized protest which will improve the status of Negroes in South Africa and of Jews in Russia would have precisely the opposite effect in the case of Russian Christians. Which is very satisfactory because it won't do a careerist any good to be fussy about persecuted Christians.

PERHAPS THE MOST useful thing about *Humbug for Beginners* is that it is based on experience derived from my own blunders. Space will only allow me to recall characteristic ineptitude. In the first postwar Olympics (1948) my job was to adjudicate on protests against the eligibility of would-be Olympic ski-racers, and a demand was presented that I disqualify a young Austrian merely because he had belonged to the Austrian Nazi party. No crimes in war or peace were alleged against him. My own skiing relations with the Nazis had been abruptly terminated before the war, and it seemed to me irrational to disqualify an Austrian skier from competing in the Olympics merely because he had been a member of the Nazi Party, since the 1936 Olympic Games, winter and summer, were held in Hitler's Germany. I should, of course, have disqualified the ex-Nazi.

The postwar Olympic Committee rightly welcomed the Russians, who had begun the war by attacking Poland in alliance with the Nazis, and has since expelled South Africa, thus recognizing the validity of one of the basic principles of the new branch of scientific sociology. *Situation Disapproval.* "Never kick a man when he's UP." □

Sir Arnold Lunn, who has written eighty books in as many years, is founder of the modern Slalom race and obtained Olympic recognition for it. He has written extensively on skiing, on mountain climbing, on religion and on all kinds of humbuggery.

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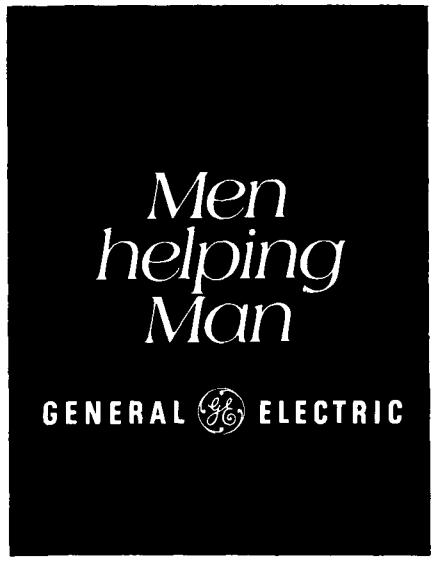

If that were just a slogan, the next two pages would be blank

Before a company signs its advertising with "Men helping Man," that company had better be trying to do something about problems like pollution... crime... transportation... heart disease ... the energy crisis. That company had better be trying to do something about some of the biggest problems facing the country and its cities today.

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In fact, General Electric is probably working in more of these problem areas than any other company.

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On the following two pages are some of the things GE people have been working on. None represents a total answer to the country's problems, of course.

But we think you'll agree they're clear examples of "Men helping Man."

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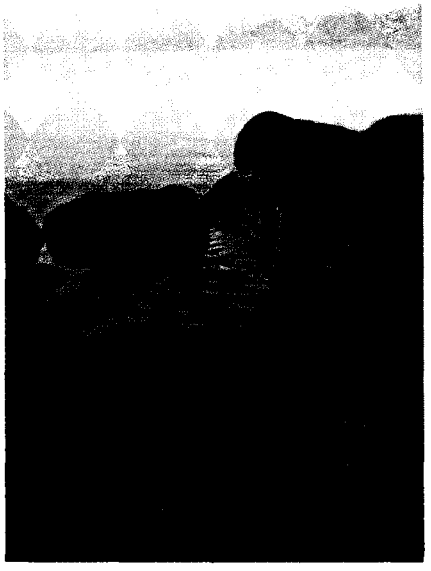
With GE's help there's at least one lake still pure enough to drink.



Lake Tahoe has been called the most beautiful lake in the world.

To keep it that way, the people who live there wanted one of the most advanced and effective sewage treatment systems in the world.

With General Electric's help, they now have it on the lake's south shore.

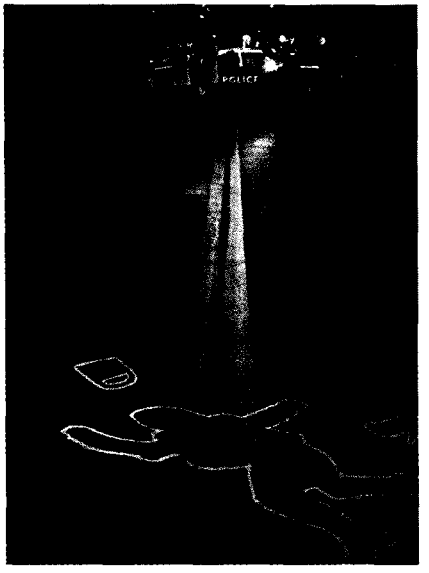
Water from the system, like the lake itself, is pure enough to drink. But, even so, it's pumped over an 8,000-foot mountain pass into a reservoir for swimming and fishing.

The people of Tahoe want only pure mountain streams flowing into the lake.

General Electric motors, controls, meters and GE service people help keep the whole sewage-treatment system working.

GE also has a new idea for purifying water. A new membrane, developed through GE research, may lead to a home filtering unit that will keep viruses and bacteria out of your drinking water.

People can live without street lights. Sometimes.



Where new streetlights have gone up, the crime and accident rate has gone down.

In cities like Detroit, New York, Indianapolis and Hartford, new streetlighting systems from General Electric have helped cut night crime in lighted areas by better than 50%.

Across the country, many new systems use GE's Lucalox® lamps. The most efficient source of white light ever invented. Lucalox puts out twice as much light as the best mercury systems . . . on no more electricity.

Streetlights are only one way GE is helping fight crime and accidents.

High-speed saws—with a cutting edge of General Electric Man-Made™ diamonds—are being used to cut narrow, parallel grooves into roads at hazardous curves.

The grooves give cars a firmer grip in wet weather. And cut accidents by as much as 85%.

We helped make the working day an hour shorter in Philadelphia.

For many Philadelphia commuters, the eight-hour day doesn't seem as long as it used to. Because they now save up to an hour in travel time every day.

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GE is working in other ways to help people travel.

For the future, General Electric is continuing its research into a practical battery to power a broad range of electric vehicles for transportation.

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"I died three years before she was born."

"Before I passed out, I remember thinking, 'This is what it's like to die.'"

Five years ago, before his granddaughter was born, Bernie Wallach had what might have been a fatal heart attack.

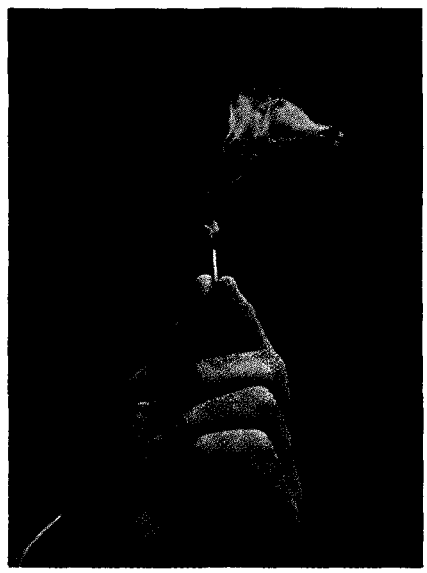
But he was lucky enough to be near a hospital with General Electric coronary-monitoring equipment.

The equipment gave doctors an instant electronic reading of Bernie's condition. Later, it kept watch over every beat of his heart for signs of another attack.

GE coronary-monitoring equipment improves a heart patient's chance of survival by about 30%. And people like Bernie Wallach are alive today because of it.

It's only one way GE helps medical science fight heart disease. Another is a GE artificial lung just introduced which greatly increases the time doctors have for open-heart surgery.

A match puts more smoke in the air than a nuclear power plant.



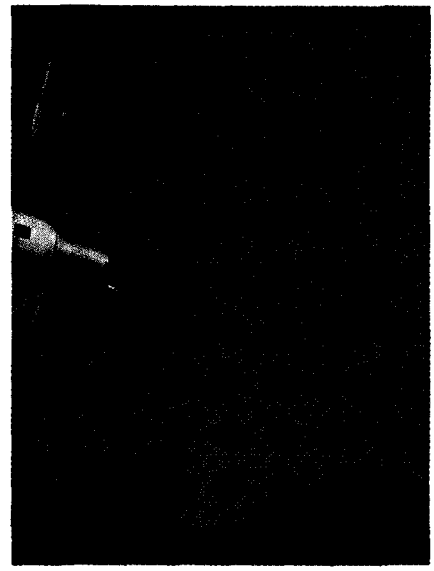
Nuclear power plants don't burn anything to make electricity. And where there's no fire, there's no smoke.

That's why so many people concerned about the environment now favor nuclear power. It's just about the cleanest way there is to make electricity.

Safety has always been the first consideration in building nuclear power plants. Take radiation, for example. A typical plant adds an average of less than 5 millirems/year of radiation to the natural radiation of its site. That's less in a year than the extra radiation you'd receive on one round-trip cross-country jet flight.

Fourteen years ago, GE built the first nuclear power plant ever licensed. Today, GE is helping develop a "breeder reactor." A breeder makes more fuel than it uses. In the next 20 years, breeders should begin making the job of meeting the country's demand for electricity easier.

This is a picture of the exhaust from our new jet engine.



This is an unretouched picture of our newest jet engine running at full take-off power. Where's the smoke? There's no smoke at all.

The engine in the picture is on a test stand. But virtually smokeless engines just like it are now in airline service on the McDonnell Douglas DC-10.

There's more to jet exhaust than just smoke, of course. Our goal is to one day make jets run totally clean.

Jet noise is another problem. But while there's still a long way to go, GE has already succeeded in making the DC-10 engines quieter than those on other commercial jets. Even though the new engines are more than twice as powerful as most engines now in service.

GE has been chosen by NASA to help solve aviation industry noise problems. By 1973, we hope to have developed the technology needed to get engine noise well below anticipated federal standards.

Men helping Man

GENERAL ELECTRIC

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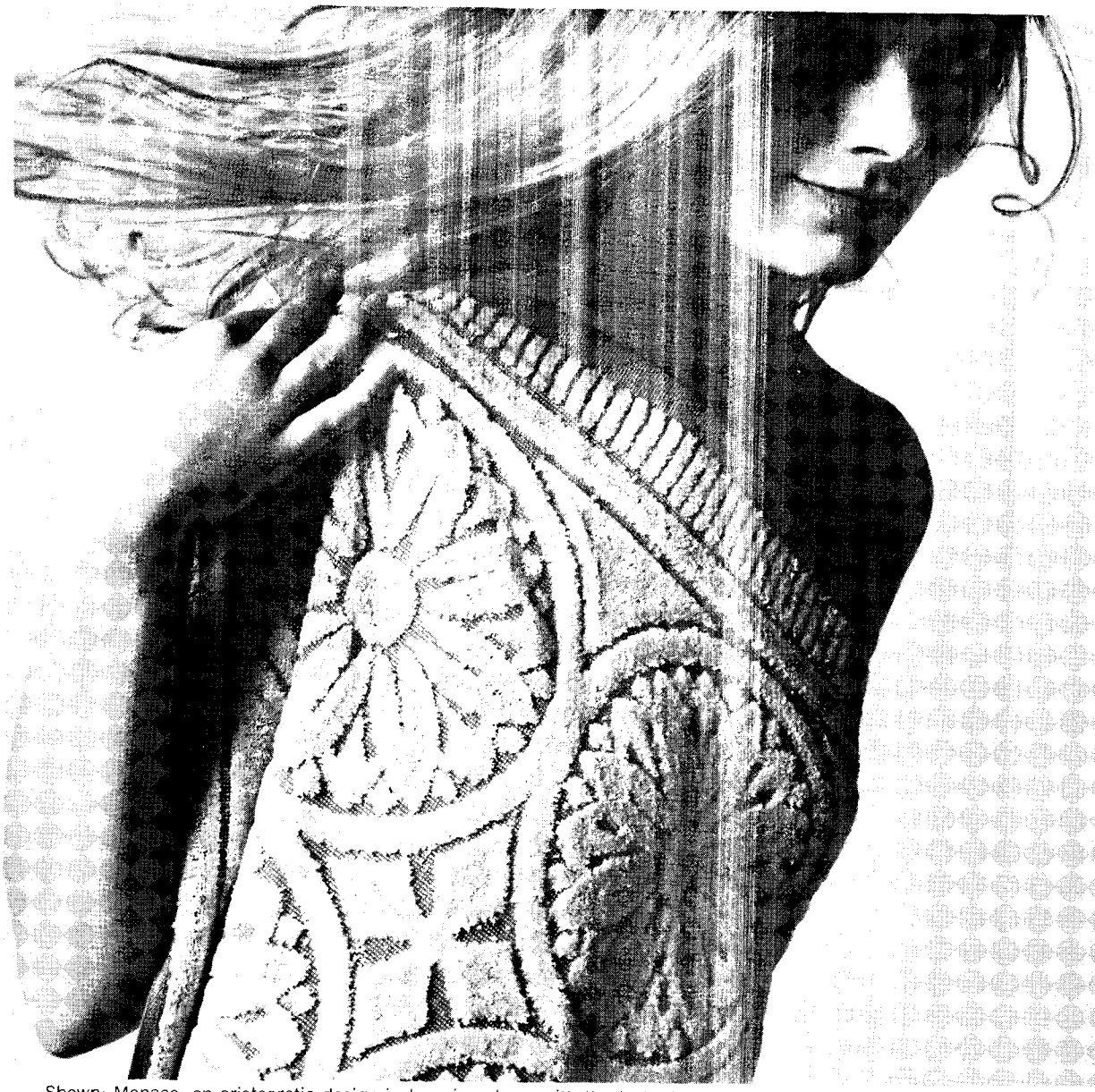

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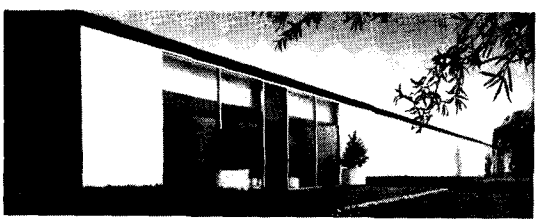

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SCHOOLING AND THE COURT

The High Price of Fanaticism

LINDA BRIDGES

PERHAPS the most ill-advised crusade of the last ten years is the fundamentalist liberals' crusade against government aid to private schools. The ideologues oppose such aid, not because they fear it would restrict the private schools' freedom, nor because they are concerned about the equity of taxation (a common argument in other circles being that the parents of private-school children should no more get a tax break than childless taxpayers), but in order to help the public schools. Yet, if successful, it could well result in the final blow to the public schools.

The true fanatics want to preserve the public-school system at all costs, not because it gives every child a good education, but because it gives every child the same education. Their rhetoric is apocalyptic: "For all its many faults, which I believe are remediable, our public-school system offers the best hope for democratizing, equalizing, humanizing, liberating and integrating our society," says Ed Doerr, of Americans United for Separation of Church and State. "But this basically humanistic and democratic revolution is threatened by a movement that would turn our society back toward the Dark Ages, that would remake the country in the image of some sick banana republic with a nice paper constitution covering a festering mess of sores."

What he and like thinkers (the ACLU, the Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty—PEARL—, and the American Jewish Congress, inter alia) are so incensed about, then, is not just the private schools' privateness (although that is bad enough: separate cannot be equal, and nothing is so important as equality), but their ideologies, which are not, for the most part, the public schools' brand of secular humanism. Roughly 90 per cent of the nation's private schools are religious, and 97 per cent of the religious schools are Catholic—and, as any of these gentlemen can tell you, that *means* Establishment of Religion. They concede that aid would be given to all private schools that accepted it, but imply that this is merely an academic question. In point of fact, there are large numbers of Jewish schools in certain areas, and smaller, though not negligible, numbers of schools belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church and most Protestant churches. As a practical matter, there are areas where one or another of these groups of schools is numerous enough that help for them would cost a bit, but their closing could have a serious effect on the public schools. In the New York City metropolitan area, for example, there are 175 Orthodox Jewish day schools, educating 55,000 children.

IT IS TRUE, however, that by far the greatest portion of aid, nationwide, would go to Catholic schools, and therefore questions of aid naturally center on Catholic schools. In the 1970-1971 school year, they educated 9.4 per cent of the nation's children. It cost them, on a nationwide average, $434 a year to educate one secondary-school child, $200 to educate one elementary-school child. The combined national average for public secondary and elementary schools was $717 per child. Therefore, just to start with, even if the states paid the entire cost of Catholic education, it would be barely more than a third of the cost of educating the same children in public schools. If the states paid no more than half the cost, it would be one-sixth as expensive. And, while costs of education rose drastically in Catholic schools in the Sixties, costs in public schools rose twice as much in straight dollar amounts (a $140 increase per pupil in Catholic schools, *v.* $280).

Furthermore, a large number of the Catholic schools in the country are located in urban centers: 29 per cent of the elementary students in Philadelphia are in Catholic schools; 27 per cent in Pittsburgh; 25 per cent in New York City. In such areas, the cost of education tends to be higher than the national average, because of higher wages and higher building and maintenance costs. It is reported that it costs $1,300 a year to educate one child in New York City's public schools, and New York City's public schools are, Heaven knows, overcrowded, understaffed and considered to be impoverished. To try to expand suddenly could well ruin them altogether. Yet, it is in these areas that Catholic schools are in the greatest danger of closing, since cities are where costs are higher. It is unlikely that a large percentage of suburban Catholic schools will have to close: they have no dearth of students able to pay tuition. In rural areas, the Catholic schools account for few students in straight numbers, but they are sometimes a large enough proportion of the local population so that their closing strongly affects the community (in St. Albans, Vermont, for example, two of the three Catholic schools closed two years ago, dumping six hundred students into the eleven-hundred pupil public-school system, a 55 per cent increase).

But urban schools are the most likely to close, and it is their closing that could do the most damage to the public schools. Detroit is an extreme example of what could happen in metropolitan areas such as Cincinnati, Boston, Chicago, New York. From September 1966 through September 1970, some fifty thousand students entered Detroit's public schools because the Catholic schools they had been attending closed. The cost to the taxpayers of Detroit was $90 million. That works out to $450 per pupil per year, which, while it is less than might have been projected from Detroit's 1967-68 average cost of $627 per pupil, is still twice what the total cost of educating those students in the Catholic schools would have been, and four times as much as Michigan would have been asked to pay under the most generous plan currently being considered by any state. At the end of the 1970-71 school year, 65 more schools closed, cascading an additional twenty thousand students into a system still staggered by the first influx. And another fifteen schools in the Archdiocese may yet have to close down.

In the New York Archdiocese, Catholic schools have long educated 25 per

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Miss Bridges graduated a year ago from the University of Southern California and is now an Associate Editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, *having first come to the editor's attention when she took a hand in the lengthy Kenner-Buckley dispute over the opening sentence of a Buckley column a year or so back.*

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cent of the elementary-school children. They too have now reached a critical level of operating costs, partly from inflation (increases in costs of buildings, supplies and wages), partly because of a decline in the number of teachers from the religious orders. The ratio of religious to lay teachers, which used to be about 75 to 25, is now fifty to fifty. Teaching nuns and priests are paid about $1,200 to $2,500 a year; lay teachers receive a sum much closer to the prevailing public-school salaries. In 1969-70, the annual salaries of Catholic lay teachers in New York City ranged from $4,600 to $11,300, while public-school teachers were getting $7,950 to $14,150. While the cost of educating one elementary-school pupil tripled from 1958-1968 in the Catholic system ($56 to $156), the cost next year will be $323, of which only one-third is paid by the parents.

If all the Catholic schools were forced to close and all parochial-school children entered the public-school system at once, classes of thirty would suddenly become classes of forty; classes where students are already standing in the aisles would become as packed as the subway at rush hour. The only way the public schools could expand quickly enough to avoid such educational disasters would be to hire large numbers of former Catholic-school teachers, and to buy some of the Catholic schools; but they would have to hire the teachers at their standard rates, which average nearly 75 per cent higher than the Archdiocese's, plus the cost of the buildings. These factors would push the cost of absorbing these children much closer to $188 million a year than to the $47 million a year it would have cost the Archdiocese to educate them. Now, no one seriously predicts that all the city's Catholic schools will close, certainly not in the next five years. But if the number of children educated were cut in half over the next five years (and that is a reasonable prediction, says Msgr. James C. Donohue, Director of the division of elementary and secondary education of the U.S. Catholic Conference), the dislocation would be frightening enough.

Even by Msgr. Donohue's figures, then, unless the current trend is stopped, approximately 2.5 million students would enter the public schools by 1975. If the affected schools were spread evenly throughout the country, and if each school decreased in size steadily for the next five years instead of suddenly closing and dumping all its students into the public-school system simultaneously, the addition of those 2.5 million students would not be catastrophic. But, as we have seen, this is not the way these things happen. And, given the rising costs in public education, President Nixon's much-criticized statement on the subject must err, if it errs at all, on the low side: "If most or all private schools were to close or turn public, the added burden on public funds by the end of the 1970s would exceed $4 billion per year in operations, with an estimated $5 billion more needed for facilities."

WORKING FROM this premise, various states are considering or have already put into practice plans for aiding private schools. It is not yet known how many of them will be invalidated by the June 28 Supreme Court decisions. The ACLU and the American Jewish Congress claim that the decisions prohibit any aid whatever to religiously oriented private schools, whether paid directly to the schools or indirectly, in the form of vouchers or tax credits, to the parents of the children attending them. The two specific plans that the Court ruled unconstitutional were Pennsylvania's, which provided money to buy textbooks and to pay part of the salaries of teachers who taught secular subjects, and Rhode Island's, which added a 15 per cent supplement to the salaries of teachers of secular subjects. Other plans currently in operation include Washington's, in which private-school pupils are allowed to attend certain courses at public schools which would not otherwise be available to them; Illinois', in which payments are made to private-school children whose families are below the poverty level; Vermont's, in which teachers are lent to private schools to teach certain classes in secular subjects; Minnesota's, in which parents are given an income-tax credit of up to $140 a year for each child attending a private school, providing they paid at least that much in tuition. The New York legislature has voted a plan for the 1971-72 school year in which the private schools will be reimbursed for certain "secular education services," on a daily per-pupil basis, not to exceed 50 per cent of the school's expenditures on secular subjects. Three more states, Delaware, Maryland and Wisconsin, are considering tax-credit or voucher plans; many states provide busing or textbooks to private-school children; and two communities in California will be trying out the Office of Educational Opportunity (OEO) voucher plan.

Some of these plans cost a great deal of money, and it is true, in a manner of speaking, that this is money taken away from the public schools. Pennsylvania's program cost $17 million last year; Maryland's, if it is approved in a referendum, will cost $12.1 million a year; Illinois spends $30 million; New York's plan would cost about $80 million. Opponents of private-school aid insist that this money would be better spent in the public schools; but the difference between giving New York's public schools an additional $80 million a year and giving the private schools $80 million is like the difference between pouring eighty gallons of water into the Mojave Desert, and pouring eighty gallons of water into a rose garden. Money isn't the only solution.

Bernard Donovan, a special consultant to the Brooklyn Archdiocese, has warned repeatedly against relying on government aid; he says that retrenchment, reorganization, and increased zeal on the part of laymen would have more certain effects. But this, of course, is the Catholic schools' problem; it is everyone's problem only when it becomes a matter of taxation, and there is a good deal of evidence that, whereas money is not always enough to save a school, its lack may be enough to sink it. A typical pattern is that, because of a shortage of funds, a pastor will threaten to close the parish schools. The Mother Superior of the order of nuns that was teaching there will send the nuns into other areas of work, which means the school *has* to close. If the state provides a certain amount of money, that will frequently encourage the schools to continue—and private schools do, after all, provide a necessary service which the state would otherwise have to provide. The private schools will still have to cope with problems such as providing the sort of education that the parents want; the public schools will still have to cope with the problem of being obliged to take any student who presents himself, teachable or not. But a bit of money would give both the public and the private schools a chance to work out solutions. □

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SPECIAL REPORT

ABM Critics Taken to Task

ROGER HALSTEAD

A RECENT REPORT published by the Ad Hoc Committee on Professional Standards of the Operations Research Society of America (ORSA), a relatively small and relatively unknown professional society deserves special notice. It appeared in the September issue of the society's journal, *Operations Research*, under the title "Guidelines for the Practice of Operations Research," and it consists of a professional critique of the performance of some of the participants in the 1969 debate over the deployment of the Safeguard ABM program.

It criticizes, mainly, the performance of some of the more active critics of Safeguard, among them George Rathjens, Professor of Political Science at MIT; Jerome Wiesner, then Provost (and now President) of MIT; and Ralph Lapp, a prominent technical publicist of the anti-military-industrial complex. Other critics whose analysis was questioned by the ORSA Committee include Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, Director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Laboratory; Steven Weinberg, Professor of Physics at MIT; and Carl Kaysen, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

The Committee also criticized material presented by some supporters of Safeguard, principally by the American Security Council, an organization whose influence in the debate was not exactly notable. As concerns official spokesmen for Safeguard, the Committee said: ". . . the analytical arguments presented by spokesmen for Safeguard within the Administration were carefully examined. While shortcomings were found as documented below, they nowhere equaled the cumulative mass of inadequacies compiled by the opposition."

The field of operations research, closely similar to systems analysis, deals with professional quantitative analysis of interactions within systems susceptible of such analysis—as, for example, the question of how much of the U.S. Minuteman missile force could be destroyed by the Soviet SS-9 missile force, under various assumptions about Soviet capabilities.

Operations research came of age in World War II, and ORSA was formed in 1952. In November 1969 Albert Wohlstetter, a prominent nuclear strategist associated with RAND and the University of Chicago, who had supported the Administration case for Safeguard and who was an ORSA member, wrote the Society asking that a panel consider some aspects of professional conduct during the then-recent ABM debate. An ad hoc committee, which issued the report after eighteen months of study, was set up. The six members of the Committee included four former presidents of ORSA, a former president of the Military Operations Research Society, and a former president of the Institute of Management Sciences.

The Committee took no position on the wisdom of the Safeguard decision as such, and indeed it is explicitly reported that the members were divided on Safeguard itself. But they were not divided on the shortcomings of the arguments of many of the opponents of Safeguard. In their "Summary of Findings," they said: "The evidence supports the disturbing conclusion that when prominent experts outside the Administration supported their opinions on Safeguard deployment with arguments or results of an operations-research nature these analyses were often inappropriate, misleading, or factually in error. Moreover, in many instances, elementary standards for proper presentation of results to permit verification and meaningful dialogue were not met." It is worth noting that the only "prominent expert outside the Administration" who supported his opinion on Safeguard deployment with operations-research arguments, and who favored deployment, was Wohlstetter, whose analysis was explicitly endorsed as "a model"; thus this "Summary of Findings" bears entirely on the critics of deployment.

Many specific examples of unprofessional conduct are documented in detail in the 130-page report. A careful reading discloses that George Rathjens systematically exhibited behavior that could conservatively be called slippery, and some would describe as simply dishonest; that Jerome Wiesner is given to shooting from the hip in regard to such matters as whether official Department of Defense (DOD) spokesmen did or did not change their threat estimates; and that Ralph Lapp is constructively unintelligent. Lesser degrees of misfeasance are outlined for Wolfgang Panofsky, Steven Weinberg and others. No doubt many experts close to the debate were well aware of the quality of the "analysis" given by these partisans at the time. What is valuable about the present report is that a committee of distinguished members of the principal professional society concerned with such analysis has officially taken note of the misconduct, and exhibited it in a way anyone with sufficient interest can follow. This constitutes a highly valuable precedent for the future, which may well improve debates.

THE MIT ANALYSTS criticized by the ORSA Committee have done their best to disparage the report, but their best is not very impressive. They have attacked the proceeding on a variety of grounds, such as the argument that they are not members of ORSA and thus the Society had no basis for criticizing them. The appropriate commentary on this argument was given by Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis in the Johnson Administration, himself no supporter of Safeguard, who observed (in a letter to the *New York Times*): "I thought that the Rathjens-Wiesner letter objecting to the Committee was extremely arrogant. Imagine Linus Pauling objecting to a critical examination of his theories on Vitamin C by the medical profession on the grounds that he isn't a member."

We should be grateful to Wohlstetter and the members of the ORSA Committee for their willingness to face the hostility they will undoubtedly encounter from many members of the liberal scientific community. They have done it to clarify the record of the last debate, and in the hope of improving the quality of the next one. □

Mr. "Halstead" is an expert on security matters and has written extensively on the subject.

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Mr. Buckley suggests what the United States should do next vis-à-vis the United Nations in a speech to the China Conference at New York's Hotel Commodore on October 29—four days after Taiwan's expulsion

The End of the United Nations?

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We meet in circumstances most of us regard as bitterly sad. We all became accustomed to the reality of Mainland China. We grew, even, to acknowledge that the men who won the revolution after the Second World War in China embarked on a revolutionary course which was totalist in its ambitions: to remake man, no less. The usual practices by which accountants measure the cost of social enterprises seemed somehow inadequate. The learned debate among the necrologists is over the question whether ten or fifteen or fifty million human beings have been executed in the course of giving flesh to the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung. The ghastliness of it all was on such a scale as to cause us to become almost clinical in our consideration of it, like the harried doctor who wanders insouciantly through the streets of a city in the final throes of a deadly plague. We felt we could maintain our balance only by indulging a little counter-revolutionary vision of our own, namely that the government of Chiang Kai-shek would recover the Mainland: even as, on coming across the story of Anne Frank, the occasional reader experiences that sense of personal indignation which brings him to feel that by rushing personally to her aid, he might, somehow, save the legions destined to die in the extermination centers.

Well, Chiang did not recover the Mainland, the government of Mao Tse-tung did not fall, and the West didn't have the stomach to make it fall; and soon it become the fashion to allege that we were ignoring the largest country in the world by our failure to extend to it diplomatic recognition. Such in fact are the paradoxes of diplomacy, that we more conspicuously notice a nation by *declining* to recognize its government, than by recognizing it: we are more acutely conscious of Cuba, which we do not recognize, than of Guatemala, which we do. Still, along the way the assumption was stimulated that the *government* of Mainland China was co-equal with the *people* of Mainland China, a point our formal diplomacy tends gravitationally to accept, causing us sometimes to move from professions of friendship for the Chinese people, on over to professions of friendship for the Chinese government, without the ceremonial pause that, ideally, would acknowledge the hypocrisies to which international protocol so often drives us.

Mr. Nixon's decision to accelerate the trend toward recognition of the revolutionary government was no doubt motivated by his conviction that the people of China cannot, A.D. 1971, reasonably hope to overthrow their oppressors. Or—worse—that the New China Man is the successful product of twenty years of Mao; that he has been successfully transformed; that, like the citizens of the Soviet Union who dumbly cheered Stalin, descendants of those citizens who implored Ivan the Terrible to resume his throne: that they are too far removed from hope, to know even how hope is defined. It is here and there argued that Mr. Nixon's decision to go to Peking did not in fact midwife the expulsion of the representatives of the one government, and the admission of the representatives of the other government. And indeed it is true that before Mr. Nixon's announcement, there had been erosion. Still, if it wasn't cause-and-effect, history will assign it that relationship; and symbols being so often more memorable than facts, let us accept the symbols: that the new reality is that we accepted the government of Mao Tse-tung as dominant over Mainland China, and the United Nations did too, extending the logic to incorporate Taiwan: who says A, must say B. Even so, one supposes, we would eventually have accepted the government of Pétain and Laval as dominant over France, if it had lasted there twenty years.

But the experience of this week leaves us with the burden of meditating on one or two things. The first is the United Nations. The second is our attitude toward it. The third is our relationship with the deposed government . . .

THE GENERAL ELATION over at the United Nations was most graphically expressed when after the vote defeating the United States on the important procedural point, the delegate of Tanzania stepped forward to the podium and danced a jig. The elation had less to do with the substantive point: it doesn't really matter that much to the delegate of Tanzania, who in any case has to share the General Assembly with 130 other nations, whether one of those 130 is or isn't Formosa. The jig expressed that special delight one feels on beating a giant. We, of course, are the giant in the situation, and although there was a giant and a few middleweights lined up against us, still it was the first time that the United States, premier economic and until very recently military figure in the world, went down to inglorious defeat: on a resolution sponsored by Albania, a little, reclusive country composed primarily of rocks and serfs, with here and there a slavemaster, whose principal export is Maoism. And, of course,

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the backdrop was perfect: the skyline of New York, metropolitan hearth of the giant who was felled by a coalition led by Albania, which tallied the vote of Byelorussia as the equal of France and England, and weighed the principles of the United Nations Charter, well, not at all.

THE TROUBLE with fantasies is that they do not endure, not in the real world. Inevitably, when a collection of nations come together to frustrate the will of a large, powerful and independent nation, the frustration boomerangs. If membership in the United Nations is greatly worth having, it is because the United Nations has much to offer its members. Foremost—as projected by its architects—is power and prestige. The power of the United Nations depends very heavily on the extent to which its determinations are accepted as binding by those nations of the world which are themselves powerful. Insofar as the United Nations engages in activities that reveal its weaknesses (say, its failure to bring peace in India); or that reveal theoretical hypocrisy (for instance its insistence on universality alongside its refusal to recognize Rhodesia); or its capricious politics (the expulsion of Taiwan), it diminishes that which made membership desirable in the first place. It is as if everyone wanted to go to Harvard because Harvard has so fine a reputation, and gradually Harvard begins admitting everyone who wants to go to Harvard. What happens is that gradually Harvard loses the reputation that made it desirable in the first instance.

Actually, it has been quite a while since first it became apparent that the United Nations had no clothes. Its highwater mark was the Korean War, when we dressed up our soldiers as agents of the United Nations and went along with the act. But soon after that —very soon after that—we were confronting, in connection with events in Poland, in Hungary, in Tibet, on the Sino-Indian border: all over the world, the military and moral powerlessness of the UN: and shrewd international specialists, like Professor Hans Morgenthau, were warning that it is important to remember that "the United Nations is a procedure, not a policy." It was inevitable that the UN should become primarily an instrument of embarrassment, in the most recent instance, the embarrassment of the United States through the manipulation of Taiwan. It makes a difference when we are singled out for humiliation. The UN's condemnation of Israel a few years ago made no difference at all to Israel, because Israel is profoundly convinced of the correctness of its policies. The condemnation of China as an aggressor made absolutely no difference to China because China, like Russia, like Herbert Marcuse, insists that such condemnations as are directed against its activity are expressions of bourgeois morality: indeed, they are likelier to collect condemnations, as proof of their effectiveness, than be embarrassed by them.

But this is not true of the United States of America. We care very deeply when we see, done primarily in order to embarrass us, manifest injustices; committed by an international body of which we are a founder, serve as principal underwriter, and in which we are an active participant. We care enough to do something about it. We cannot re-found the UN, removing the utopian gleam from the eyes of its architects. To alter substantially our subsidy is interpretable as an act of petulance which, for all that there is actuarial and spiritual justification for it, somehow makes us ill-at-ease. The answer is to revise the nature of our participation in the United Nations, which is as inevitable as the movement toward midnight in Cinderella's clock. They danced a jig on taking Moscow, in 1812, but, little by little, they discovered that there was nothing there.

BACK IN 1945, critically situated Americans dreamed of an evolving world federation, the inevitable result of a nuclear politics. The form such a federation would take was never clear, but it was hoped that the United Nations organization would prove adaptable. Into its composition the architects injected strains of prudence and reality, as also strains of idealism and egalitarianism. Thus the Security Council would guard the essential interests of the essential powers. And the General Assembly would have authority in matters of great consequence, but mostly in areas in which it was given explicit

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"I hope this teaches you Americans a lesson!"

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ROBERT A. TAFT INSTITUTE

Teaching the Teacher

PATRICIA S. COYNE

MY NEIGHBOR, a high-school teacher, invited me for coffee one morning last spring and conversation naturally turned to the students. Her class, Junior English, was on Thoreau. They had been only mildly interested, it seemed, in Walden Pond; had slept right through Transcendentalism. But when the discussion came around to civil disobedience, eyes snapped open, heads shot up and hands flapped wildly over heads.

"They all began to insist," she reported, "the our present system was unresponsive to the needs of the people, that it wasn't working any more, that you had to break laws to get anything accomplished. . . . Well," and she shrugged her shoulders helplessly, "what could I say?"

A few days later, I overheard a young political-science teacher, still enveloped in that heady kind of cynicism that universities tend to instill in their graduates, talking about his students. "These kids today," he was saying, "they're way ahead. Every kid who comes into my class, and I'm talking about seventeen, sixteen, even fifteen year olds, they're all saying that the system is a mess, that it doesn't respond, that it's got to be completely restructured before . . ." And I drifted out of earshot, thinking to myself that if they weren't saying it when they came into his class, they most assuredly were saying it by the time they left.

The average college curriculum today permits teachers to graduate with no practical knowledge of the workings of our government and only the scantiest theoretical knowledge. This was always bad. But today, in light of the latest constitutional amendment enfranchising millions of new young voters, it has become essential that the teachers who teach the young about government have some practical knowledge of what our government is all about: that they have the facts and figures necessary to tell the students why the system *isn't* a mess.

Therefore, when Mrs. Preston Davie, Chairman of the Robert A. Taft Institute, told me about the seminars conducted by her Institute, it seemed to me that the work they were doing was of vital importance. The Taft Institute of Government is a nonpartisan, nonprofit educational corporation, founded in 1961, by prominent members of both political parties. Its aim is to bring to teachers and through them to their students a greater understanding of working democracy.

One hundred and twelve summer seminars have been held since 1962 through universities and colleges in twenty states throughout the country. The faculty is made up of practical politicians as well as academic political scientists. Both Democratic and Republican Party leaders serve as guest lecturers. The local directors set up a balanced political program: the conservative viewpoint is given as much credence, is treated as respectfully as the liberal, which is to many of the university-educated teachers a unique experience.

Since 1962, the Institute has reached some 375 teachers who, in turn, have reached well over 600,000 students annually. At the Taft seminars practicing politicians teach the teachers practical politics: selection of candidates, political financing, lobbies, the nature of compromise etc.

I ATTENDED A SESSION of a Taft seminar sponsored by Pace College in New York City this summer. Mr. Nathan Canter, Assistant Attorney General for Elections stood in as guest lecturer for Louis Lefkowitz, Attorney General for the State of New York. Mr. Canter looked strangely out-of-place in those academic halls. No one would have mistaken him for a professor. His lecture was on methods of insuring the integrity of the vote, and he began, in a political sort of way, by assuring us that Mr. Lefkowitz was sincerely sorry that he hadn't been able to come, etc., which may or may not have been true. But by the time he was through speaking, the class knew that it *was* true that Mr. Canter was vitally concerned with the business of averting election fraud.

Later, over lunch, a rather foppish young dean who hadn't attended the lecture quipped: "My favorite saying is Mayor Curley's: 'Vote early and often.'" He looked around, expecting appreciative chuckles. But coming when it did, the remark seemed out of whack. We ducked our heads and gave our attention to our salads. Before the lecture we would probably have smiled at the remark; certainly it would not have embarrassed us.

"Prior to participating in the Taft seminar," says one graduate, "I would have had to rate myself as being very cynical of the political process. The political process is inevitable and necessary. It is *not* evil. One could not help but be impressed with the candidness and concern of most of our seminar leaders . . ."

"Before the seminar I thought that politics was full of backroom deals, bargains and selfish interests; that the honest men were in the minority," stated a teacher. Yet after attending the seminar the same teacher felt that politics is "a profession with working rules; compromise is not a dirty word—it is a way of moving ahead; that the men who are sincere, honest and dedicated are the majority, not the minority."

There is a feeling among the board of the Taft Institute that the program is still too academic, that it leans a little too heavily on the political-science theory sort of lecture and I found this attitude reflected among the participating teachers. "The morning sessions [the ones given by the academic director] can be kind of dry and theoretical," one teacher told me. "But yesterday we had a woman who's the deputy mayor of Scarsdale and she's a professor too. She was great." The problem, of course, is finding practicing politicians with the time and initiative to lecture.

But the program is still in its infancy. Not enough teachers have heard about the Taft Institute of Government semi-

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Patricia S. Coyne is John Coyne's wife, and also a writer. Her first article in NATIONAL REVIEW *a couple of years back was on Christmas as a child in Alaska. She has also appeared in* Human Events, *and the* Alternative.

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A FANCY

Re: How Segregation Ended in the Early Seventies

CHARLES F. EYRE

I SUPPOSE it seems strange to some people, in 1995, that our young people are not able to comprehend the atmosphere of racial bias that existed prior to the end of segregation in the 1970s and the almost miraculous fading of that bias over such a short period. But it has ever been thus, the events of hundreds of years ago are better understood by our young people than happenings during their own babyhood. This was true of the great depression of the Thirties, and of World War II; and I have no doubt that today's very small fry when they grow up, will have little knowledge and less understanding of the trials their parents are now suffering with these great waves of "pollution flu" that now and then sweep the world.

However, I am digressing. I want to recall for your young readers the end of racial segregation which finally made this country the true melting pot of the world. Unsuccessful attempts to integrate the races had been continuous since the legal end of slavery but it only took an idea and the right political climate for the growth of that idea to nurture a pell-mell change in our culture.

First, there was a more or less general revolt in the early 1970s against court decrees and deadlines seeking to integrate the schools. In many areas these orders required the busing of children to school which was inconvenient and unpopular. The reaction was more vocal than violent, and the entire governmental structure of the country, federal, state and local, felt the onslaught of letters, phone calls and telegrams from an aroused populace. The idea came from an obscure college teacher who proposed that an income-tax exemption be given to any person who lived next door to a person of another race, saying in effect that the government should depend on incentives to gain integration rather than force. He argued that the tax exemption would promote harmony in the society, especially in housing, and yet would retain a certain measure of freedom for the individual.

This novel idea was picked up by those who were looking for any weapon with which to advance integration as well as those who were anxious to stop the expensive busing of children long distances to school, and so it was widely circulated. Many congressmen began to hear about this tax exemption proposal and it was presented as a bill to Congress.

Under the peculiar political circumstances of that time, the idea of a racial tax exemption became irresistibly potent. The segregationists saw another way to delay forced integration, and the proponents of integration felt that there was at least a token advance for their cause. At any rate, the bill was pushed through Congress. An unexpected feature of the law was the relatively large amount of the exemption, which was set at $4,000 despite the arguments of those who feared the losses in federal revenue would be too great. There was a great deal of inflation and unemployment and a growing fear that tight money policies which had been followed up to that time were going to bring on a depression, so the politicians felt compelled to make some gesture that would at least mitigate the unrelenting pressures that had built up around the issue of integration. No one could be very certain just exactly what it was that moved Congress in its wisdom to pass the measure with such a high level for the exemption, it just seemed that the time was ripe. President Nixon was induced to sign the measure on the understanding that a 5 per cent surtax was to be passed to offset the drain on federal income.

In practical terms the measure as finally enacted meant that any individual residing in an incorporated city of any size who could manage to secure a next-door neighbor who was a Negro, a Mexican, an American Indian or a Puerto Rican would not have to pay any income tax at all until his income reached approximately $5,500. A much higher amount would entail for a family. And, of course, the exemption applied equally to the members of the minority races named in the law.

The impact was tremendous. Housing which had been tightly closed to them only weeks before was opened up immediately to those families of the prescribed races who had the financial ability to pay the rents and down payments needed. It soon became apparent that there were not enough minority people to go around. Advertisements began to appear in the news media appealing to members of the selected groups to come and live next door. Such advertisements pointed out that the minority family would be eligible for the tax exemption, gave the address, the rental information, promised friendship and a hearty welcome, and extolled the virtues of the local school. There were a great many cases where adjacent properties were bought so that they could be rented to the minority families at attractive rates. Later on the competition to find dark-skinned neighbors became keener and there were a few items in the news media about cases in which bonuses were paid in order to induce the now-valued members of the chosen races to move in. Rumors persisted that some families were bribed away from other areas after they had already moved in and taken a bonus but this seemed to be mostly gossip. There was some splitting up of families when the young men and women of the minorities began to live more on their own, but this was more a relaxation of the confines of the so-called ghettos than anything else.

THE VARIOUS DECISIONS of the courts on the matter of segregation were lost in the hustle to get the exemptions. There were one or two accidents involving buses carrying schoolchildren and the fatalities resulting gave a massive impetus to the furor that had already been raised against busing. Enforcement of integration continued to languish as it always had. Those in the

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upper income strata were unaffected by all this and continued in much the same manner as they had through all previous efforts at integration down through the years. Their children often went to private schools where only now and then was a token member of another race in evidence. Their world, lately dubbed the SST Set, has changed now though, and is as fully integrated as the rest of the nation.

THERE WAS A severe shortage of housing for a while as the vast slums soon lost a majority of their inhabitants. Much use was made of so-called trailers, which were in reality prefabricated homes of a much cruder kind than those recently erected in the former slums. These were set up on the outskirts of the suburbs and became known as trailurbs. The intensive building activity created by the long pent-up demand for housing, aided by heroic financing measures passed by Congress later, encouraged other industries, such as automobile manufacturing, and the boom started which has continued unbroken from that time to this.

Not that there weren't any problems. The Internal Revenue Service found it very difficult to handle the new headaches presented by the legislation. The simplest of these, and the most common, was that many people decided that Mr. and Mrs. So-and-So next door were Indians, Puerto Ricans, or whatever, and took the exemption, thinking that they could get by with the deception. Word soon circulated that this ploy was unconvincing to the IRS and those who tried it found themselves in hock to Uncle Sam for sizable amounts at the new 10 per cent penalty interest rate.

More difficult for the IRS were the cases in which people tried to "pass" so that they could receive bonuses as well as the exemption. Some people managed to get more than one bonus. But these cases were not frequent and those actively seeking "exemption neighbors" as they were called, soon learned to investigate before they paid off. The bonus rage died quickly because it was too difficult to make sure that the expenditure was going to provide the exemption for a sufficient length of time to make the payment of a bonus worthwhile.

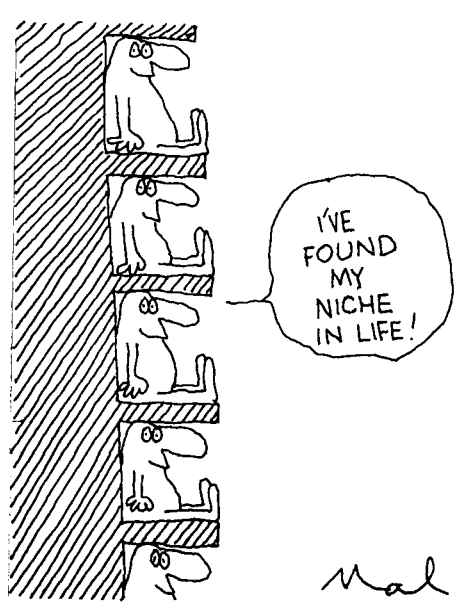
Perhaps the most interesting result of the law was the claims by a few families, especially in the Southern and Midwestern United States, that they were really Negroes, even though they had been accepted as whites for generations without question. Their claims were aided by some of the old state laws from post-Civil War days which defined a person as a Negro if as much as one drop of Negro blood coursed in his veins. The services of persons experienced in genealogy and heraldry were much sought after.

Congress was besieged with requests by other groups to include them as qualifying for the tax exemption, but only after a delay until 1975, were Chinese and Japanese accepted. Religious groups set up a great outcry to be included, but nothing came of it, since they nearly all had the attitude that they only, and no other group should be included. It was also proposed that the law be scaled so that a larger exemption would be allowed if one were the next door neighbor to a Negro and a somewhat smaller amount for living next door to a Mexican (of a lighter hue) and so on, but it was generally felt that such changes would have been discriminatory. The proponents of this idea were silent on what the exemption would be for a Negro living next to a Caucasian, and there was considerable argument as to how the scaling should go. You can see why there was no action taken on this proposal.

The effect on welfare was most unexpected, a sort of serendipity bonus to society. Once welfare recipients coming from the slums were accepted in their new neighborhoods, they somehow learned to live cleaner and brighter lives. Some force seemed to be set in motion which made them want to "catch up with the Joneses" and most of them did so very quickly. Their style of life changed drastically. Their neighbors taught them by example. They learned and actively pursued the advantages that accrued to the alert consumer and the frugal borrower. The result was that the welfare rolls shrank and the welfare money that was paid was much more wisely used by the recipients. Even though the new situations that were created by the exemption brought many problems there was a strong motive now to secure solutions by compromise, with extensive development of communications between the new neighbors. The myriad of tensions which came up were therefore rather easily settled as a result. Street crime became a smaller problem and attention turned to the war against pollution and its possibly catastrophic consequences which we have now, 25 years later, only partly managed to avoid.

The word neighbor found a rebirth of meaning in its old sense. There was a great extension of help to those next door, and not all of it for the minority families. It even became a fad for a while to have a person of another race, preferably a Negro, as a best friend. Many of the words that were once peculiar to the ghettos found their way into everyday slang usage. Once the barriers were breached in housing, they absolutely disappeared in employment, and in nearly every part of American life. Even the unions lowered the subtle barriers that had stayed the invasion of dark-skinned workers into the crafts for so long. No longer were couples of mixed colors and sexes regarded with disgust, or even surprise. The whole American society increasingly took on the characteristics of the population of Hawaii in that respect. The nation was bathed in an absolute plethora of tolerance.

The end of the exemption in 1980, almost ten years after it was passed, came as an anticlimax. It happened just as Congress had finally succumbed to the lobbying efforts of a number of groups to be included as eligible for the exemption and the measure was on the desk of the President (who was again worrying about the effect on the federal income) when the United States Supreme Court ruled that the granting of such an exemption based on race was unconstitutional. □



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C. H. SIMONDS

For Now

SLOUCHING BACK HOME

SOME MONTHS AGO in this space I remarked, with ill-concealed glee, the general calming-down, cooling-off, running-out-of-steam of The Revolution, Youth Division. See, said I, it couldn't sustain itself, it all got to be a big bore, and now Our Kids are returning to earth—battered a bit, older and perhaps a little wiser.

That this tendency is now fulfilled is demonstrated by the fact that the *New York Times* has gotten around to noticing it. YOUTH REBELLION OF SIXTIES WANING, smirks the head of one of those insufferable *Times*-visits-the-hinterlands Sunday fillers. And sure enough, on college campuses all over the country the *Times* finds kids eschewing violence, working (grudgingly) within the system, turning inward for self-fulfillment, worrying about jobs, digging James Taylor instead of the Jefferson Airplane, even dressing nice: "There's a whole new influx of skirts and sweaters," a Brandeis girl is quoted as saying. "It's an incredible freak-out. All of a sudden this summer I went out and bought dresses. Why? I felt like feeling good." Perhaps the best indication that the trip is over for good is a new course offered at the University of Michigan on the "History of the Student Movement in the United States." Imagine Jerry Rubin reduced to a crib note on somebody's starched shirt-cuff!

We may need a massive federal program to tide over all the folks this turnaround is going to put out of work—the Willses, the Wickers, the radical professors who've been running like hell to keep ahead of their followers. Poor Abbie Hoffman—his final attention-getting device was a haircut. But then, as befits a revolution that was mostly hot air, this one's Thermidor is bloodless: Nobody is being guillotined, just ignored, so after a brief period of adjustment the erstwhile leaders will find other lines of goods to peddle.

But surely, after all that excitement, all that intoxicating rhetoric, that noise and smoke, tear gas and blood, things won't just slide back to the status quo ante? I can't see why not. The French had scarcely scrubbed the blood off the cobblestones when they found themselves saddled with a whole new aristocracy, every bit as silly as the one they'd overthrown; Citoyen Lebrun became a duke. The Russians were doubtless surprised—but they needn't have been—to see Ivan the Okhrana agent pop up as Ivan the NKVD agent. That *Times* article kept going out of its way to reassure us that, really, the campuses aren't returning to the selfish, somnolent, silent Fifties. Still, one hears in the distance the ominous rustle of pom-poms.

CERTAINLY, some things have changed. College administrators will for a long time be more responsive to (read: scared to death of) student demands. That's both a good and a bad thing. Good, because there will be less paternalism (in fact, that battle seems to have been pretty well won already—though at my alma mater, which abolished fraternities ten years ago with the declared intention of "assuming responsibility" for all phases of student life, a directive went out this fall reminding students that they may not exercise their right to associate with whom they please, if such association involves Greek letters). Bad because a gush of trendy-relevant course offerings and activities will yank education even further off course, away from its presumed purpose of transmitting at least the gist of the Western heritage, deeper into the swamp of temporary enthusiasms.

Nor will the revolutionary impulse disappear altogether. It will always appeal to a certain human type; that type has already swelled, and will continue to swell, the ranks of the orthodox, old-line revolutionary movement—the Communist, Socialist Workers and other such parties, unlikely keepers of the flame that Mario Savio lit at Berkeley in 1965. They won't bring the country down, but they will be definite nuisances.

On a pleasanter note, the campus revolution seems to have brought a cooling of middle America's unrequited love affair with education. We are no longer quite so ready to think of education as an abstract good; therefore we do not insist that every single child go to college, regardless of his abilities or inclinations. Whether this healthy skepticism among the taxpayers will endure is not certain.

Finally, long after the revolution has altogether vanished there will be the sour residuum, passed on from class to class along with all of the other traditions, of contempt for America and the need to feel alienated from her cause. The contempt and alienation will be expressed differently—passively, instead of violently—because they will be felt differently: as social conventions, invisible phylacteries, instead of as burning imperatives. From now until the next explosion, students will have to live with a nagging feeling of guilt as they compare their indolent selves with those demigods of the Sixties who actually rose up and Did Something, never mind what, never mind that it didn't work.

THAT THERE WILL BE another explosion sooner or later is guaranteed by the fact that one thing will not change. The American academy will, inevitably, go back to its wicked old ways. For just a little while there at the height of the youth orgy, a few professors and a few administrators seemed to be learning the lesson. Believing that the academy was worth preserving, they took firm stands against anarchy. Some even correctly located the source of the explosion in the essential corruption of American higher education.

But Dr. Hayakawa and such are little heard from these days. The academy, safe for the time being, can once again be corrupt. It will ingest the disoriented products of American primary and secondary education (that triumph of its own making) and process them as it did before, turning them, by means of overdoses of relativism, relevance and fashionable anti-Americanism, into vaguely discontented cookie-cutter liberals. Here we go again. □

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RUSSELL KIRK

From the Academy

ACQUIRING WISDOM AND VIRTUE BY BUS

EVEN THE Volstead Act was popular, by the side of what most newspapers now call "busing." Compulsory congregation of schoolchildren of differing hues, to be achieved by elaborate time-consuming schemes of transportation, is advocated by few now except the spokesmen of the NAACP and certain federal judges.

Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan, making ready for a strenuous re-election campaign next year, proposes a constitutional amendment that would prevent the courts from assigning pupils to public schools according to "race, color, religion or national origin." If he could get his amendment before state legislatures next week, it might be ratified more quickly than any other constitutional amendment. His own statement is sufficient explanation of the public detestation of the bus method for desegregation:

> If we really want more racial harmony and an integrated society, common sense suggests that we will not achieve these goals by increasing racial tensions and by accelerating the flight from the cities to the suburbs and beyond. . . . When a court orders long-distance busing of children because they are black or because they are white, the court disregards and ignores a fundamental truth—two wrongs do not make a right.

Amen to that.

Indeed, Senator Griffin is reaffirming what seemed to be the declaration of the Warren Court in 1954: that racial origins ought not to be a requirement, by law, for assignment to public schools. The Supreme Court has been ambiguous or evasive ever since, in the specific application of this doctrine—though various inferior federal courts have virtually inverted the idea, by insisting that school boards *must* integrate according to race, even where there was no previous barrier in law to such association.

Your servant—who never rode on a school bus, and does not intend that his children should—was an opponent of the "busing" notion long before it became involved with racial questions. Various psychologists at last have found the courage to declare that shipping children out of their neighborhoods to enjoy alleged advantages at some distant school does mischief to most of those children. This undertaking separates them from their actual community and the children with whom, ordinarily, they would associate; it may make them into an unhappy conscious minority among pupils of very different background; it wastes their time, and often disturbs them physically and emotionally.

I went to grade school in Lower Town—literally on the wrong side of the tracks, many of the pupils being children of men who worked in the big railway yards. None of us was a child of affluence. We would have been bitterly indignant at the notion that we would benefit by compulsory busing to the grade school uptown; we would have been right. In schooling, as in society at large, a sense of community usually matters more than public amenities.

The object of education, says Plato, is the acquisition of wisdom and virtue. There is small reason to believe that the Chinese children of San Francisco will grow in wisdom and virtue by being bounced in buses to a homogenized blending with the correct ratios of Anglo and Negro and Mexican-American children. Nor is there good reason to suppose that black pupils will rejoice in involuntary close association with a majority of children of Italian or Polish extraction, let us say—or with youthful WASPs of the suburbs. With what are we concerned: With the actual development of rationality and ethical understanding among young people, or with a sociological ideal of cultural and social uniformity contrary to American pluralistic practice?

To forbid a child, because of his color, to attend a particular school is wrong, I believe. To compel him to attend a particular school solely because of his color is equally wrong. Desegregation (the abolishing of impediments in law to free association) is a very different thing from forced integration (which amounts to compulsory congregation, regardless of circumstances and preference).

The courts may begin to find a way out of this immense confusion into which certain judges precipitated us. It is not possible in logic to hold that public education must be made equally available to all students, regardless of race—and yet simultaneously to establish racial quotas.

Under intimidation from black militant groups, the University of Michigan now endeavors to insure that 10 per cent of the students there, by 1973, will be black: regardless of grades, aptitudes, and all that. How about a ratio for young people with Polish names, many of whom come from parents of narrow means who never thought of attending college? Are Catholics, or Baptists, or Seventh Day Adventists, or Jehovah's Witnesses, present in proportion to their numbers in the general population? If not, can't some be bused in, whether they like it or not?

BUT PERHAPS courts no longer are concerned for equal justice under law; perhaps, actually, they bow before political pressures. If so, soon they may be bowing in a different direction. As Dr. Ernest van den Haag remarks, Americans have made a pseudo-religion of educationism. Among us, schooling rouses the passions once exacerbated by religious doctrines. If, in this democratic society, the great majority of children are compelled to attend public schools, then the majority of voters will determine the character of those schools, judges notwithstanding, for good or for ill.

White or black, parents don't mean to endure compulsory congregation of schoolchildren through extravagant means that destroy community influences. One can push the public only so far; that point has been reached. Judges may recant, or new judges may be found, or a constitutional amendment may be adopted; or, in considerable part, the public schools may be supplanted by some other system of schooling. But compulsory congregation on a mass scale will not stand. □

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BOOKS

Reporting the President

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power
By Rowland Evans Jr. and Robert D. Novak
Random House, 431 pp., $8.95

The veteran Washington columnists Evans and Novak have now reviewed their notes on the first two and a half years of the Nixon Administration and put together a book on the subject. Since their last joint effort was called *Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power*, they have entitled this one, with more symmetry than sense, *Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power*. There is no really compelling evidence here that Nixon has been "frustrated" in any way in or by the exercise of his Presidential power.

Instead, we are offered a more or less chronological "inside" description of the Nixon Presidency down to midsummer 1971, as recounted by two able reporters who make Washington their beat. It is said that even a blind hog will find an acorn occasionally if he stays under an oak tree and keeps his nose to the ground. Messrs. Evans and Novak are by no means blind; they have posted themselves under a very large oak tree; and they have collected quite a few acorns.

The resulting look should probably be rated, in movie terms, "GP"—i.e., suitable for all ages, but with parental guidance suggested. The liberal bias is indisputably there, and must be corrected for. It is, for example, difficult to forgive sophisticated reporters, who must know very well the breathtaking scope and profound significance of the misnamed "Southern strategy," for brushing it off as a mere static dictum that "anything the South might perceive as faintly hostile was forbidden."

Conversely, liberal causes and personalities are often treated with kid gloves. That terrible hour at Kent State when a group of National Guardsmen, outnumbered 3 to 1 by rioting students, retreated uphill under a hail of rocks weighing as much as seven pounds, is succinctly described in one sentence: "On Monday, May 4, National Guardsmen sought to clear an area of rock-throwing student demonstrators, then opened fire without warning." And the great story of Interior Secretary Hickel, who coolly stabbed Nixon in the back at the height of the Cambodian uproar by criticizing him in writing and then leaking the letter to the press, in the expectation that Nixon would fire him forthwith and make him a hero back home in Alaska, is otherhanded around until its delicious point is wholly lost. (Nixon, who can be pretty cool too, refused to fly off the handle; instead, he let Hickel stew in Interior all summer, politically dead but officially unburied, and then, less than two weeks after the 1970 elections, booted him all the way to Anchorage.)

BUT EVANS AND NOVAK are not invariably unfair to Nixon and the conservative members of his entourage. They credit the President with fresh and vigorous initiatives in foreign policy from the very outset of his Administration. They chronicle the sharp struggle between Attorney General Mitchell and Secretary Finch, as well as that between Arthur Burns and Pat Moynihan, without letting their own prejudices materially distort the story. Above all, they salt their narrative with fascinating insights and anecdotes that will both surprise and intrigue most readers.

Did you know, for example, that the major Administration pressure for a Vietnam pullout emanated from Defense Secretary Laird (and was stubbornly resisted by General Abrams and the Army high command, to their credit)? Would you have guessed that the principal Administration opposition to the Nixon-Moynihan guaranteed-income plan came from Vice President Agnew, Treasury Secretary Kennedy *and George Romney*? Certainly historians will be interested to learn that Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia was powerfully influenced by the film *Patton*, which he viewed repeatedly; and (conversely) that a year later, when the Laotian incursion was proposed (and warmly endorsed by Laird and even by Secretary of State Rogers), the wariest and most dubious official in the upper echelons of the Administration was . . . Richard Nixon himself.

Here and there, a simple error of fact has slipped by. (The authors refer at one point to "the famed Archbishop Fulton Sheen of Buffalo.") More commonly, the reader may wish to quarrel with a dubious subjective estimate. William Scranton, for example, is twice referred to as "forceful"—a description that surely deserves immortality alongside Theodore White's characterization of Al Lowenstein as "frail." But the book's main problem—perhaps inevitable in one so closely keyed to the latest political developments—is its timing. →

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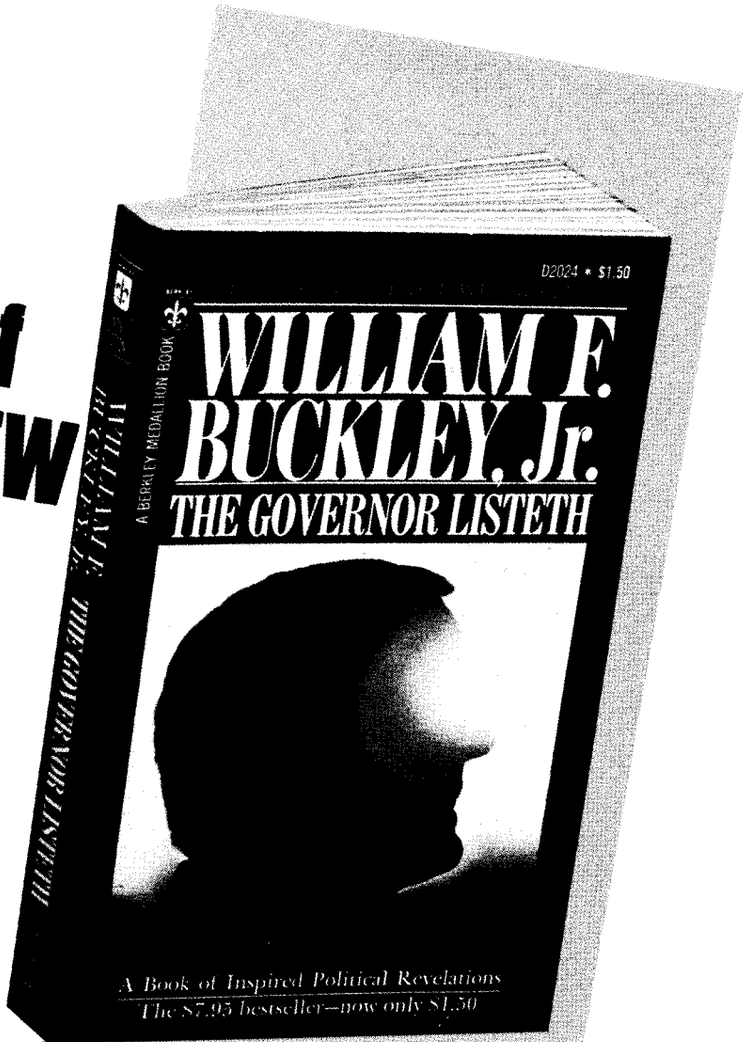
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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: Eugene Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia*, about his six years as correspondent in Russia in the early Thirties, now back in print with a new introduction by the author (Greenwood, $23). . . . French writer Jacques Godechot examines military and intellectual aspects of *The Counter-Revolution: Doctrine and Action, 1789-1804* (Fertig, $12.50). . . . *In My Way* is the political autobiography of stormy Laborite Foreign Secretary George Brown (St. Martin's, $8.95).

Basic is bringing out a major new series, *The History of Spain*. First volume, *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659*, is by Antonio Dominguez Ortiz of the University of Granada ($10). . . . Leonard Mosley's *Backs to the Wall*, about London during WWII, had rave reviews in England (Random House, $10). From the same publisher, another look at *Blue Collars and Hard Hats*, by Patricia Cayo Sexton and Brendan Sexton ($7.95).

J. Bowyer Bell debunks *The Myths of the Guerrilla* (Knopf, $7.95). . . . *The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac 1861-65* is a narrative by E. B. Long with Barbara Long (Doubleday, $14.95). From the same house, two volumes by Bell Irvin Wiley on the doughboys of the war, *The Life of Billy Yank* and *The Life of Johnny Reb* ($8.95 each). . . . You won't believe it, but Shalleck's *Tea* is all about something people drink (Viking, $7.95). . . . Stanley Green's *Ring Bells! Sing Songs!* is a big word-and-picture panorama of all the Broadway musicals of the Thirties. Introduction by Brooks Atkinson (Arlington, $14.95).

■ REACHING OUT FOR RELEVANCE. Zondervan, moderate Protestant publisher, is getting with it. A sampling of titles from the fall list: *Letters to Street Christians, Love Is Now, A Turned-On Church in an Uptight World, You're out of Date, God!, Re-Entry, When God Was Black, Way out Ideas for Youth Groups* and *Right On with Love, Baby.*

■ DECEMBER BOOKS: Harold Wilson's *A Personal Record* is a review of the author's six years as Prime Minister (Little, Brown, $15). . . . Michael Davis limns *The Image of Lincoln in the South*, finds it's not all that blackened (Tennessee, $7.95). . . . The Life of *G. D. H. Cole*, British Socialist, is by wife Margaret (St. Martin's, $10). From the same publisher, Volume II of the complete Keynes offers the book that made him a household name in 1919, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* ($9.50).

Kafka's *Complete Stories* includes all his narratives except the three novels (Schoeken, $12.50). . . . Anthony Burgess out with a new translation of *Cyrano de Bergerac* (Knopf, $4.95). . . . Now it's *As Ever, Scott Fitz*, the correspondence between Fitzgerald and agent Harold Ober (Lippincott, $15).

It was obviously written and well on its way to the printer before 1971 was half over. Nixon's dramatic midsummer announcement that he would fly to Peking required some heroic revisions of the last chapter, which give the reader a wild impression that he is riding a journalistic roller-coaster. And the President's economic *volte-face* dramatically imposing wage and price controls on a recalcitrant economy, came even later and had to be skipped altogether, leaving us necessarily distracted by various outdated remarks about "the President's limp approach" to the economic crisis.

BUT SUCH THINGS happen to anybody. This book is, on balance, a useful contribution to a better understanding of the shrewd, solitary, enigmatic man who, for better or worse, is today shaping the destiny of America. American Presidents are so important—not only to Americans but to every human being on earth—that the study of them, by modern techniques of reportage and analysis, is threatening to get out of hand. We know their preferences in food and drink; critics catalog their every human weakness.

Before long, I sometimes fear, each President will be the subject of a five-foot shelf of books, with a separate hefty tome on his digestive apparatus and (perhaps) even a slim volume on each nostril. Few of us could stand that sort of scrutiny—and few Presidents bear up well under it. It is to the credit of Messrs. Evans and Novak, therefore, that they rarely descend to such irrelevant minutiae, giving us instead many a rewarding glimpse of how the public Nixon goes about his job. It is not history, but it is topflight journalism, and we are the richer for it. □

American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro
By Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina
Arlington, 448 pp., $11.95

RACE THEN AND NOW

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

Anachronistic thinking is common enough to be regarded as part of the human condition. We tend to attribute to the heroes of the past what, from our current vantage point, we believe they should have thought or felt. Historians are reluctant to disabuse us. On the contrary, since ancient times, historiography has pictured the protagonists of the past as saying what, according to current views, they ought to have said. Although the idea of history has changed with the rise of science, relapses are so frequent as to be endemic.

In the United States anachronism has been institutionalized: the Supreme Court has given special relevance to present readings of past ideas. The Court finds in the Constitution the policies it thinks the authors ought to have intended—not infrequently about problems about which they had not thought at all, since the problems did not occur. In the past the death penalty was not unusual (and therefore not regarded as cruel); public schooling, however, was and so were pornographic movies. What the Court finds in the Constitution necessarily reflects current thinking, however much guided and restrained by the past. This is our way of checking the excess of the present by reference to the tradition of the past. It has worked well over the years. The Court can unbalance the system too, as Chief Justice Warren meticulously demonstrated. But it does so rarely.

With respect to racial matters the Court has played an innovative role since 1954 when it found in the Constitution requirements which the majority had not found there before. In the main, public opinion thereafter supported the Court, although judicial excesses have now led to some reaction. However, the judicial thrust toward an ever more egalitarian ideology, and even some compensatory discrimination to offset previously imposed disadvantages, precipitated an irreversible social movement.

THE ENACTMENT of racial egalitarianism by constitutional interpretation has led many people to believe that present-day ideas were shared by the Founding Fathers. The book under review will serve to disabuse them. Weyl and Ma-

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rina carefully, lucidly and quite fascinatingly, extract, quote and discuss the views of American statesmen, from Benjamin Franklin to John Kennedy, about slavery, and Negroes in their relation to whites. Not being an historian I am not competent to discuss the accuracy of their historical presentation. It seems amply documented though, and convincingly explained, and gives me no reason to doubt it. One must conclude that few of the heroes of our history believed in slavery. Most, however, believed—and some quite scathingly—that Negroes are an inferior race. Many believed in their "repatriation"; practically all favored segregation, and believed there are socially relevant genetic differences.

To the historian anything that happened is important, if it influenced or explains the course of events or thoughts. The stuff of this book certainly qualifies. Many of us, however, expect more than historical knowledge from historiography. We expect some sort of guidance. Our political system, which suggests that current political decisions are guided and circumscribed by judicial interpretations of historical documents, lends weight to this expectation. Yet, what is most characteristic of American history is that, despite rhetorical gestures to the contrary, it is not bound to the past except, perhaps, by nostalgia. Change, not persistence, characterizes us—one reason, incidentally, why conservatives in this country cannot rest with the past, and must evolve a specific doctrine for specific developments. The past can illuminate perhaps, but not decide on, abortion, atoms, automobiles, ecology or electronics. Or, for that matter, public or private schooling.

The views of most of our historical heroes about racial matters are no longer respectable. That they held them cannot now make these views respectable again—or diminish our respect for those who did hold them: *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. In times past people in inferior positions were thought to be inferior *ipso facto*. Though understandable, this idea is not justifiable. Today we tend toward the opposite mistake: we feel that people in inferior positions are *eo ipso*, somehow, superior. Though understandable too, this idea is not justifiable either. It is also perfervidly argued today that *all* differences among persons and groups are "environmental," and must be eliminated by equalizing environments (whatever that may mean). This too overshoots the mark by far: it is not true as a fact, not desirable as a policy, or possible.

Dare we hope that Weyl and Marina, by honestly and fully revealing the view of our progenitors, will help us understand not only their limitations but ours as well? If so, they will have helped preserve us from making a greater mess than our ancestors did, in our attempt to correct theirs. Historians cannot wish for more. □

Fragments of My Fleece
By Dean Acheson
Norton, 222 pp., $6.95

WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE TRUE

DAVID BRUDNOY

Moments before sitting down to complete this review of his last book tonight, I heard on the radio that Dean Acheson is dead. I had written a draft yesterday with a few introductory sentences referring to the McCarthy days, concluding that paragraph with a sentence that Willi Schlamm wrote in these pages in May 1957, on Mr. Acheson's remarks on the just-dead Senator from Wisconsin. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, Dean Acheson observed of the man who had said the Secretary's name had "become synonymous with defeat, disgrace and dishonor," and worse. Willi Schlamm suggested of Dean Acheson's words that they were "a certified gentleman's and Harvard Overseer's way of saying that the deceased was a son of a bitch."

I do not think that of *all* the dead one says nothing but good, but of Dean Acheson, now, personally and in reference to this book, I have nothing but good to say. *Fragments of My Fleece* reveals the Dean Acheson we came to know in recent years, in a variety of charming articles, speeches, short reminiscences, some of which are reprinted here—perhaps the words of one of the "most elegant writers of the twentieth century," as the jacket blurbs, certainly the words of one of the most interesting men of our time.

Mr. Acheson wrote ideal obituaries. His remarks at Justice Brandeis' funeral, at which he quoted the words of St. Paul from which I copped the title of this piece, captured the great jurist in about a thousand words of absolute honesty. In *Fleece*, Mr. Acheson superbly meanders through American history in addresses to schoolboys and lawyers; he reveals himself a master of serendipity, or rather, realizing how masterful he was is serendipitous, in a series of short stories just this side of apocryphal and just that side of diary.

BUT THE TRUE things to which I refer especially are the things he says of our country, of our enemies' country (for it is a state of mind as well as a place, that land, in this case Russia, whose "historical writing is amusing, but only because it reads like a parody of 'The Secret Life of Walter Mitty' "), and of our current plights, domestic and foreign. Maybe it's that he was uninterested in posturing as a Statesman, unlike his old friend W. Averell Harriman, or more likely, just that he delighted in cutting through the muck.

Fragments of My Fleece is full of gently skewered, quite thinly sliced, liberal bosh. What he must have thought of those ninnies off cramming Mandarin at Berlitz, so excited about the *aperture au Chine*, who simultaneously are hot to lynch Mr. Agnew for daring to lunch in Athens, he did not say. But he did say enough about that incredible World Assemblage of fakirs

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and witchdoctors and mini-sheikh despots down on New York's East River, those practitioners of "Humpty-Dumpty reasoning," with their laughable vendetta against Rhodesia which, in the name of peace, they would escalate into a holy war. Mr. Acheson did not buy that particular bit of double-think, or several others, for that matter.

NOT THAT HE WAS an apologist for Rhodesia's government, but rather that he scorned the "arrogance of international lawyers." Nor was he a fan of every old academic tradition just because it is tradition. But he told the young gentlemen at Exeter's 187th commencement (1968) some truths about the past, and about tradition, that few from his side of the fence would say, were they one jot less honest than he. Nothing is so absurd but that some philosopher has said it, Cicero told them, if they still study Cicero at Exeter, and not just philosophers but most of the itinerant Third Green Reichian pied-pipers who regularly pop up at ritzy prep schools. Maybe the Class of '68 got something out of Dean Acheson's wise, witty words about tyranny, order, the proper role of students. And maybe they didn't. But they can read it here, in case they were then contemplating the impending martyrdom of Huey Newton or somesuch, instead of listening to their learned commencement speaker.

Who else from his background would have quoted Edward Banfield's *Unheavenly City*, approvingly, at the U.S. Air University last year? What Dean Acheson said in that address of the "counterfeit crisis" created by the leap of faith from attacking legally enforced racial school segregation to the "solution" now so popular with our judges, I leave to the reader to discover. But this I'd like to quote from Mr. Acheson's final book:

> I cannot recall an instance of a democratic society that, once having lost the will to provide for domestic tranquility and national security, has regained it by a new birth of discipline and commitment. It has been said that the judgment of nature upon error is death. In the life of nations that judgment has been disaster.

For that, and much more from Mr. Acheson contained in this book, I borrow from Paul again: these are "things of good report; think on these things." □

The Family: The Story of Charles Manson's Dune-Buggy Attack Battalion
By Ed Sanders
Dutton, 412 pp., $6.95

Streets, Actions, Alternatives, Raps: A Report on the Decline of the Counterculture
By John Stickney
Putnam, 352 pp., $6.95

WHO KILLED THE COUNTERCULTURE?

C. H. SIMONDS

When Charles Manson and his playmates were indicted for the Tate-La-Bianca murders one of the dumber West Coast underground papers, sensing Repression, screamed "COUNTERCULTURE ON TRIAL!" After the trial with its abundant demonstrations that indeed they done it, the more level-headed *Rolling Stone* grumpily wondered why the undergrounder hadn't run a followup story headlined "COUNTERCULTURE FOUND GUILTY." Good question.

But, twitters the zeitgeist, Manson was a mere isolated nut, right? One day he went bananas, right? We mustn't blame him on the poor counterculture, that's guilt by association, right? Did my bellbottoms come back from the cleaners, Helen? Well hell, straight America has had blamed on it Howard Unruh, Charles Whitman, Calley and everybody else who went suddenly berserk. Lizzie Borden was probably unstrung by the Spanish-American War.

There is a special justice in the Manson-counterculture link. Not all counterpeople are prospective Mansons, as the hippie-haters hastened to claim. But the counterculture, that *reductio ad absurdum* of liberal humanism, was the perfect growth medium for Manson. Obsessed with its apartness from straight society, it welcomed anyone who dared to differ—however superficial the difference, however profound. Thus Manson the twerp power-junkie could establish credentials with long hair and a suitably weird rap, find money and recruits, manipulate lives and finally achieve the ultimate manipulation of ending them.

He was nutty enough, but he did not act in isolation. He had that whole Addams family ("gore groupies," Sanders calls them) helping him, even doing much of the actual shooting/stabbing/maiming/torturing for him. "Zombies," they are often called, totally under the control of a Svengali, no wills of their own. Perhaps not at the end, but at some point each of Manson's followers was still able to distinguish right from wrong, and chose wrong. Despite the sexual tyranny (Family table manners required females to offer food to the dogs before eating it themselves), despite the brutality (a girl whom Manson bashed in the face with a rifle butt explained, "I wanted to be made to see in a different way"), despite the death-talk, the knife-dances, the rituals of blood sacrifices, they stayed with him. Some would leave for awhile, then return. "Every time I come here I get raped," complained one girl who visited the Manson establishment occasionally.

AND MANSON WAS cushioned by the whole West Coast counterculture; he was in it and of it. You can hear one of his songs, "Cease to Exist," on a Beach Boys album. He went to parties at Mama Cass Elliott's house. Just days before the murders at the Tate home, he was taking the waters at Esalen (according to Sanders, Sharon Tate or Abigail Folger "may have" been there the same weekend). All along the way there were signs and warnings of what Manson would blossom into. But the counterculture was tolerant of people's Own Things—and too often, it saw only what it wished to see. For instance, there was the movie that Terry Melcher (Doris Day's son) and some other counterculture entrepreneurs wanted to make, starring Manson and his Family:

> Manson had in mind a movie that could be given a title like "Easy Snuff." He wanted satanism. He wanted robbery and chase. He wanted the men of the family depicted in dune-buggy brigandry. He wanted good Armageddon footage with helter-skelter carnage. In other words he wanted to create an "honest" movie presenting the state of his current insanity and that of his followers.
>
> It seems that Jakobson, Melcher, et al., were more interested in the gentler aspects of the family: the singing, the love, the tribal religiosity, etc. They seem to have wanted a here-come-the-

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hippies documentary with Lowell Thomas type narration.

But then by the middle of 1969, when the Mansonoids started hacking people, the whole counterculture was on a death trip. Sanders has much to say about the Process Church and the Final Judgment and other Satanist cults that he believes influenced Manson. Weatherwoman Bernardine Dohrn, from the political side of the counterculture, drooled publicly over the fork-murder of the "pig" LaBiancas. Jay Sebring, one of the victims at the Tate home, was interested in hoods, whips and chained people. And Sanders quotes Dennis Hopper, one of the stars of *Easy Rider*, to the effect that the Tate-Polanski-Folger-Frykowski-Sebring circle "had fallen into sadism and masochism and bestiality—and they recorded it all on videotape too. The L.A. police told me this. I know that three days before they were killed, 25 people were invited to that house to a mass whipping of a dealer from Sunset Strip who'd given them bad dope."

Ed Sanders is a charter member of the counterculture: a member of the bawdy-rock group The Fugs, proprietor of the Peace Eye Bookstore on St. Marks Place in the East Village. He devoted a year and a half of nonstop research to *The Family*—some of it done undercover, as when he posed as a New York porn merchant with Andy Warhol outtakes for sale. He tells the tale in a mixture of hiptalk and Thirties toughguy journalese; it moves. The experience seems to have sobered him. Speaking of one of the Satanist cults (but the subject might as easily be political Satanism, or the devils who sell hard drugs), he sounds almost like Ronald Reagan: ". . . there is no girl, no woman, no bather at the beach, no hitchhiker at the Freeway ramp who is safe in Southern California until these people are taken off the streets."

SANDERS HAS a sharp ear and eye; John Stickney's senses, and his prose, are embalmed in mush. He hitches up, down and around the country for 352 pages, rapping and crashing in streets and communes, at festivals and revolutionary talkathons. He even dropped by the Manson trial for an hour or so, where he discovered that Manson has spooky eyes. In all that time something interesting must have been done or said; it never comes through (except perhaps in an unintentionally hilarious encounter with a Jesus freak). All the counterculture seems to do is talk, and Stickney regurgitates it all in a grinding sequence of reconstructed conversations that might have been written by Victor Appleton. Reading Sanders, one feels the counterculture is drowning in blood; after Stickney, one knows it's yawning itself to death. □

Kennedy Justice
By Victor S. Navasky
Atheneum, 482 pp., $10

POLITICAL USE OF A LEGAL OFFICE

GEORGE F. WILL

Lincoln's Attorney General, Edward Bates, said of his job: "The office I hold is not properly *political*, but strictly *legal*; and it is my duty, above all other ministers of state, to uphold the law and resist all encroachments, from whatever quarter, of mere will and power."

That is one view of the office of Attorney General. It is not the only view or, in recent years, the prevailing view. After all, this minister of state is appointed by the state's preeminent politician, the President. The significance of this has been known for some time. When Andrew Jackson's Attorney General expressed reservations about the legality of a particular action his boss had in mind, his boss decreed: "Sir, you must find a law authorizing the act or I will appoint an Attorney General who will."

Clearly the Attorney General—especially in an age when the Federal Government intrudes into every sphere of life—is intimately involved in thousands of politically sensitive decisions. The government of laws is always a government of political men. That is why when John Mitchell, Nixon's campaign manager and Attorney General-designate, came before the Senate Judiciary Committee for confirmation hearings in January 1969, Senator Sam Ervin, the Senate's resident constitutional conscience, had a worry.

"To my mind," Ervin said, "there is something incompatible with marrying the function of the chief political adviser and chief agitator with that of prosecutor of crimes against the government."

Incompatible? Inevitable is more likely. Indeed twice within eight years the Senate confirmed campaign managers as Attorney Generals. When Robert Kennedy was confirmed, only one senator voted against him. And that Senator, Gordon Allott, thought Kennedy was unqualified because of his lack of legal experience, not because of his political roles.

Now comes Victor S. Navasky with a taut and, at times, gripping study of Kennedy as Attorney General. This is probably the best book ever written on a Kennedy brother, and it may be the best ever written on an executive department of the Federal Government. It is intelligently conceived, elegantly organized, meticulously researched and convincingly executed. It concerns a formidable man commanding a vast department in a particularly critical period in American history.

NAVASKY IS a graduate of the Yale Law School and an editor of the *New York Times Magazine*. He is a cultural rarity—a journalist with the temperament and training for covering the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court, two of the most important institutions in the nation, and the two which are, simultaneously, the most under-reported and misreported institutions. In addition, Navasky has the literary skills to cope with Kennedy, the man.

Robert Kennedy was the most formidable Kennedy. Without his political abilities, John Kennedy probably would not have been elected, or perhaps even nominated. But for Sirhan Sirhan, Robert Kennedy probably would be President today. And Teddy—the plastic Kennedy—might seem more real, more plausible if people did not remember Robert, the Kennedy of steel.

Navasky's principal concern is the danger that

> law may be used as a political weapon—especially where the Attorney General enjoys a "relationship to the President" that eliminates the sort of checks and balances within the executive branch that function to restrain executive exuberance.

But this is just one theme in a rich

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analysis of such complex matters as the integration of the University of Mississippi, the ransoming of the Bay of Pigs survivors, the selection of federal judges, the subtle relationship between the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, question of the proper exercise of discretion in apportioning the Justice Department's finite prosecutorial energies.

People who believe that Kennedy relished bullying Southern governors will profit from the substantial excerpts from transcripts of telephone conversations between Kennedy and Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett. And people who believe Kennedy was "soft on crime" and that the FBI is an efficient crime-fighting tiger should study Navasky's evidence that Kennedy had to drag the FBI into even admitting the existence of the Mafia.

THERE IS some tension in Navasky's argument. He thinks the famous Kennedy pragmatism undermined proper regard for procedural niceties when the issue was the tapping of telephones. But he is very impatient with the Justice Department's respect for the due process of federalism when it came to sorting out the judicial and police responsibilities of state and federal governments during the civil-rights agitation in the South in the early 1960s. But this tension never cripples Navasky's argument or erodes his credibility. He is never facile or, in my judgment, really contradictory. He knows the law that has developed around the Fourth Amendment, and he knows the real issues of federalism.

Kennedys remind Navasky of "John Dewey's instrumentalists, people whose goals arose from the crises that confronted them." The drama of this book derives from the fact that Robert, unlike his brothers, would go out of his way to confront a crisis. Unlike his brothers, he had towering passions. His principal passion was a hatred of racketeers, and his greatest passion of all was James Riddle Hoffa.

Before becoming Attorney General, Kennedy declared: "The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in this country—aside from the United States Government itself." And he added: "As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil." "By the time Kennedy became Attorney General," Navasky writes, "his 'feud' with Hoffa had become something of a spectator sport. He was Ahab, and Hoffa was his whale."

As one scholar has noted: "From the day that Hoffa told Robert Kennedy that he was nothing but a rich man's kid who never had to earn a nickel in his life, Hoffa was a marked man." So the Justice Department gave birth to a Get-Hoffa Squad. Kennedy's motives were partly personal; but that does not mean his goal or methods were nearly incorrect.

"If the Get-Hoffa Squad was an objectification of Robert Kennedy's will, his fantasy life, a mirror of the inner Kennedy," Navasky says, "it is important to see what it did and did not do and to ask whether ultimately this furthered or undermined the processes of law enforcement which Kennedy, as Attorney General and 'keeper of the executive conscience,' was charged with upholding." Navasky adds that

> Kennedy lived with the knowledge that he, more than any man in the country was responsible for Hoffa's being where he was—in the sense that his revelations had toppled Dave Beck, making it possible for Hoffa, whom he considered the greater evil, to take over. When asked how he felt about the fact that if he hadn't gone after Beck first, Hoffa might never have ascended to the Teamster presidency, Kennedy said with a smile, "I feel I have a debt to society."

Navasky's narrative of the anti-Hoffa campaign is vastly entertaining and his conclusions are appropriately and typically balanced: "The Get-Hoffa Squad didn't define Robert Kennedy, but it represented an aspect of him, an authoritarian capability." He also notes that the Supreme Court, which has not recently been reluctant to overturn convictions, has twice affirmed Hoffa's.

Robert Kennedy's career flamed and ended spectacularly just as the New Left and the "new journalism" were flourishing and going off the rails together. He became the favorite subject of some of those politicized writers—such as David Halberstam and Jack Newfield—who have no discernible interest in government, but who dote on political "personalities." Thus a spate of books about him manifested the worst attributes of both the political and journalistic "movements"—sentimentalism, sloppy analysis and dishonesty—while shedding little light on the fascinating man.

Navasky's book is a good biography, and more. And it is a good biography precisely because it is more. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

CAMPUSTOWN USA, *by Mark Graubard (Campus Scope Press, 299 pp., $3.95).* Written late in the Fifties and only now published, this didactic novel effectively refutes the notion that the pre-SDS campus was silent and somnolent. It certainly wasn't for the faculty. Graubard vividly recreates the times and the Causes: the Wallace campaign (Henry, that is), End the Cold War and, preeminently, the anti-McCarthy hysteria that made brave men whisper in the Faculty Club of "Midwestern University." I recognize the real-life model on which Midwestern is based; Dr. Graubard has included some local crusades that were mounted in the Eisenhower years and that I recall. It all really happened, pretty much the way he says it did. The book shows a keen eye for the foibles of the academic liberal—and it points, though it does not state, the relevant lesson: that in this way the seeds for the campus turmoil of the Sixties were sown.

C. H. SIMONDS

SECOND IN COMMAND, *by Edward R. Murphy Jr., with Curt Gentry (Holt, 452 pp., illus., $8.95).* Former Lieutenant Edward Murphy was Executive Officer of the "spy ship" *Pueblo,* as the newspapers of the day delighted in dubbing it. Murphy is a teetotaler, fussy over details and generally the diametric opposite of his former commander, Lloyd M. Bucher. They are not, and never seem to have been, what could, even generously, be called friends. Their one shared characteristic is the desire to justify their actions (and intention) in print. In doing so, Lieutenant Murphy takes on Bucher and the Navy for incompetence and after-the-fact whitewashing. He comes across as a carper, but a carper with several legitimate points to make. His professional co-author, Curt Gentry, is well qualified as a specialist in the literature of blundered military surveillance operations (he also co-authored Gary "U-2" Power's book, *Operation Overflight*). With all its faults, *Second in Command* warrants reading if you are really interested in the events leading up to the *Pueblo* fiasco. Murphy does not seem a very engaging fellow, but he has a head on his shoulders which is probably considerably superior to his old chief's. Certainly, if some of the precautions Murphy claims to have urged had been taken, the disaster would have been less than total, and far less humiliating to the United States. Personal malice accounts for some of the Murphy criticisms, but hardly for all of them. As a result, his book is of genuine value in considering this small but important episode of our recent history.

A. BAKSHIAN

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Arts & Manners

PLACES

J. BRYAN III

A Pillow for El Caudillo?

I've never been to the Balkan countries, so I can't make a flat, apodictic statement that Madrid is the dullest capital in Europe. But I speak from firsthand experience when I say that it is the dullest in *Western* Europe. Granted, the Prado (which means "lawn" or "meadow" in Spanish) is one of the world's greatest galleries. Granted, the Ritz (which means "*grand luxe*" in any language) is one of its greatest hotels. But when you have seen these two, conveniently across the street from one another, you have seen Madrid, as far as I'm concerned. I daresay there is an interesting palace or museum somewhere about, but before I ever manage to locate it, boredom always drives me out of town. This past summer, happily, it drove me 33 miles to the northwest, to a new (for me) attraction, a monument that ranks in drama and grandeur with La Ferrière, Henri Christophe's towering, lowering citadel in Haiti, although there is a conspicuous difference between them: La Ferrière caps a mountain; this monument is inside one.

Guidebooks call it "the National Foundation of the Holy Cross of the Valley of the Fallen." We tourists call it "Franco's underground cathedral." We tourists are two-thirds right. It is certainly El Caudillo's; his was the conception—a monument to the million dead in the civil war of 1936-39; he raised the money for it; he chose the site; he even selected and himself cut down the ebony tree that went to make the cross on the high altar. And it is certainly underground; above the ceiling is living rock. But quite as certainly it is not a cathedral, either by church law or architecturally. Church law permits only one cathedral to a diocese, and Santa Cruz' diocese already has one, in Madrid. Architecturally, it resembles the traditional cathedrals of Beauvais and Canterbury less than the movie cathedrals of Balaban & Katz. I don't mean to be flippant, but when I first looked down the tremendous tunnel of the nave, I had a fleeting suspicion that I had blundered into the secret subterranean hangar where Dr.

Fu Manchu stored his phantom Zeppelin. This was not a place for worship, I felt, but for wonder; it moved me not to prayer, but to a whistle of amazement. I am tempted to nail down my point with a statistical hammer, but that can wait while I try to convey what you may expect at Santa Cruz.

THE SITE is a rocky valley in the Guadarrama mountains. Franco chose it for two reasons: because it is close to the geographical center of Spain, and thus supports his insistence that he has built a memorial to *all* the civil war dead, rebel and loyalist alike; and second, because the wild austerity of the surroundings—a tremendous tidal wave of stones, frozen just as it crested—showed no distracting artifact of man's: no eyesore pylon, not even a hut, nothing. (There was also a third reason, possibly less cogent and definitely less publicized: In this valley, the Republican advance was first halted, in 1936.) Some few trees grow here—pine, poplar, oak, ebony—and thyme and marjoram lend crispness to the air. But those stark, soaring rocks overwhelm all else; you see only them and the gigantic cross that crowns them.

I can't postpone the statistics any longer. Although my guidebook vouches for them, the first is so incredible that it may stun you into doubting them all. Here it is: This cross, which is a tube of reinforced concrete faced with stone, is 492 feet high—not from its top to the foot of the mountain, but *the cross itself*. Its arms span 157 feet; they too are hollow and are so wide that two automobiles could pass inside them. (An elevator will hoist you up there, but not your automobile.) The shaft stands on a two-tiered base, the lower guarded by the four Evangelists and the upper by the four Cardinal Virtues. Each Evangelist is sixty feet tall; the sculptor, Juan de Avalos, said: "When the nose of an apostle becomes a block of stone that can't be moved by two men, the problems of modeling and nuances take on a new difficulty." I should think so.

You can see the soaring cross from Madrid on a fine day, whereas your eye doesn't pick out the entrance to the basilica until you round the last curve in the approach road. Leave your car, climb two gentle flights—there are ten steps in each, symbolizing the Commandments, and they are a hundred yards wide—and you find yourself on a vast esplanade with standing room for 160,000 people. Before you is a classic arcade, roughly semicircular, with the main entrance at its center, flanked by ten alcoves on each side. The alcoves, sheltering bas-reliefs, are 72 feet high; above the entrance is a pietà 145 feet long. Climb another flight, and you come to two 34-foot bronze doors; past them is a wrought-iron grille that weighs 28 tons; and past this is the basilica proper. I suggest that you lean against the grille and rest a moment while I wheel up another battery of statistics.

What stretches before you now is the nave, cool, quiet, softly lit. (I *think* it is the nave; church nomenclature is treacherous ground for laymen, and I could well—if I may misquote *Macbeth*—find myself "unseam'd from

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the nave unto the apse.") The nave, then, is 853 feet long by 90 wide by 72 high, and every cubic yard of all that rock was *drilled* out, not blasted; the job took two thousand workmen fifteen years. The walls are broken by small chapels, three to a side, alternating with tapestries. The chapels are dedicated to various aspects of the Virgin. The tapestries illustrate the Apocalypse; they were woven in Brussels about 1540 and are brilliant in color, enormous (28 feet by 17), and unique of their kind—by far the most gorgeous I have ever seen. Moreover, they help prepare you for the bonfire of color that blazes in the dome above the transept: a heroic Christ, seated, with groups of saints, martyrs, warriors and peasants swirling up toward him in glory—all done in mosaic. The dome is 134 feet across (St. Peter's is 138 feet). The axis of the 492-foot cross, extended down through 336 feet of living rock, penetrates the exact center of the dome and, down a further 152 feet, the exact center of the altar, with its Christ Crucified on the tree that Franco felled. So from tip to crypt is very nearly one thousand feet.

Rumor holds that here, in front of this altar, Franco proposes to be entombed—that Santa Cruz is destined to become as much a memorial to El Caudillo as to "the Fallen." True? All I know is that an air of clandestinity has always breathed from the whole enterprise. During construction, the site was fenced and patrolled, and enquiries were discouraged. Even now, the Spanish Tourist Bureau seems reluctant to advertise Santa Cruz as the attraction it deserves to be. Lastly, no official accounting has ever been released, presumably because Spaniards are not in a mood to welcome a church—much less a tomb for Franco—when they translate the estimated cost of $20 million into schools, hospitals and highways.

If you ask how the $20 million was raised, you are told that it was partly private donations, partly the proceeds of a special lottery, and partly "money not spent on armaments. Santa Cruz has thus been built at no cost whatever to the Spanish taxpayer." Since he has those armaments none the less, and since they were furnished him by the American taxpayer, perhaps we are entitled to take a quick, inconspicuous bow at the portal of Santa Cruz before we enter to kneel. □

VIDEO

MARTIN WILLIAMS

Open Letters

Dear Laura Z. Hobson:

I have read your meticulously researched article in the *New York Times* critical of *All in the Family*, and I must say that I find myself sympathetic to your feeling that the show pulls its punches and is indeed in danger of making a lovable fellow out of its chief bigot, Archie Bunker. That position has been taken by others, as you may know, particularly in England where *All in the Family* had its origin in a series called *Till Death Do Us Part*, which was apparently stronger stuff.

I am told also that graffiti promoting "Archie Bunker for President" have appeared in the men's rooms of certain workingmen's bars in New York City. Food for thought, even though a perhaps more serious "George Wallace for President" may be scrawled in the next booth.

However, the tone of your article makes me wonder how you respond to comedy in general, and to good TV comedy in particular. How do you like the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*? What do you think of *Lucy*?

More to the point, what is your response to the kind of Jewish jokes that Jews tell other Jews? and the jokes that blacks tell other blacks? What do you think of the comic nature and function of such humor? More important perhaps, does it make you laugh?

I appreciate your quotations from Bergson—one should of course treat them with great respect. But is it not interesting that we have such general agreement on the nature of tragedy—an almost unbroken critical concurrence that begins with Aristotle—but have had so little agreement among theorists on the nature of comedy and humor and the function of laughter? However, there *is* some agreement on Aristotle's precept that comedy shows men as less than they are.

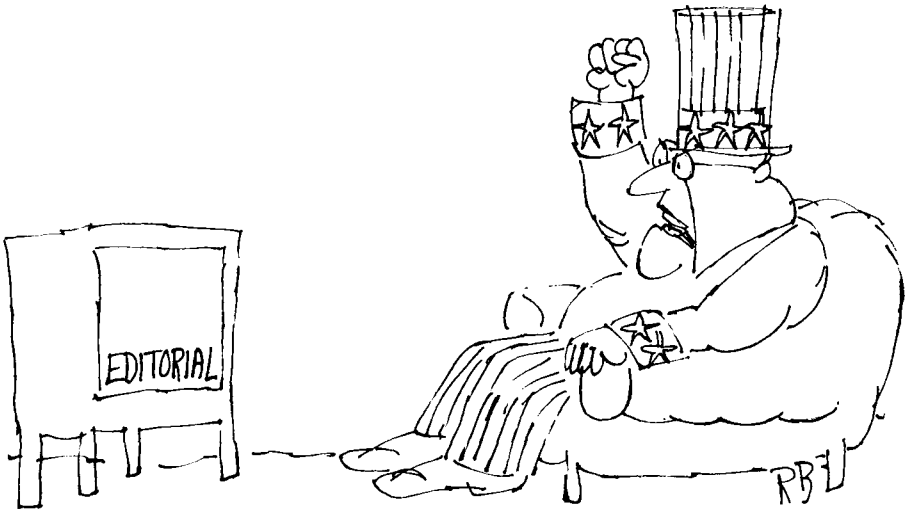
Take a couple of extreme subjects: We have had good comedies about prostitution and good comedies about murder. But a good comedy about prostitution must not show the extremes of lust and of degradation that each of us knows is a part of the world's oldest profession. And a comedy of murder must not show us blood and gore on a murderer's hands.

Note also that a great comedian, Charlie Chaplin, even found Hitler a suitable object for comic ridicule. Is it appropriate to add that Chaplin is a Jew?

I wonder if it is possible for *All in the Family* to ridicule Archie Bunker's bigotry to an American audience in 1971, if Archie were (as you suggest) to speak of "kikes" and "niggers" as real bigots do. Or is it perhaps that you really don't want a comic treatment of bigotry? Is bigotry too sacred for ridicule?

Dear Harry Reasoner:

It's about your pronunciation and diction. Try to get this straight: it's *War*-shington. You know, that's where



"And my name is Jonathan J. Penrose and I speak for the management of this house."

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the *gova*-mint is. (Unless it's a forn gova-mint.) If you're in a hurry, *War*-shna is OK.

Also, I think you should work on *sekka*-terry. As *Sekka*-terry of Laber James D. Hodson. He's in the *gova*-mint too.

Then there are the big numbers. It's *mee*-yun. A *mee*-yun dollars. Then there's *bee*-yun. If a *bee*-yun dollars becomes a *mee*-yun dollars, that's de-*vah*-yuh-ation.

Practice now. You may end up making a living with your voice and delivery.

Oh, I almost forgot about my name. It's pronounced Marn *Wee*-yums. □

MUSIC

ROGER EVANS

Master of the Notes

The summer months saw the demise of New York's Fillmore East and Electric Circus, those Village pantheons of rock, and if the rest of the city's musical vitality depended solely on the events of the summer seasons, the concert halls and opera houses would probably be converted into roller rinks. With many of the musical moguls off at their music-shed-equipped watering places, New York is not usually the place to look for the new developments in summer. But there *was* something rather remarkable this year: In June hundreds of fanatical musicologists and performers from this country, France, Germany, Italy, Eastern Europe, Israel and Iceland descended upon Lincoln Center, bent on a sort of musical campaign that appears to portend much for the musical art, and to confirm some evident trends of recent years.

THE OCCASION was a gigantic five-day International Festival-Conference in commemoration of the 450th year since the death of one of the greatest of all composers: Josquin des Prés.

Josquin (born ca. 1440) was the greatest composer of his age—and, indeed, was the first composer to be so recognized throughout Europe. Born in the province of Hainault, culturally French, active in the Lowlands, France and Italy, he was one of the best-known artists in any medium during the Renaissance. His services as *maestro di capella* (a sort of composer-conductor-impresario) were strenuously sought by the various papal, archepiscopal and royal courts, and even a German musical amateur—Martin Luther—wrote enthusiastically: "Josquin is master of the notes, he made them do what he wanted; the other composers had to do what the notes wanted."

We seem to have become very fond of anniversary commemorations in all the arts—witness last year's *Beethovenjahr*, which left hardly a city or hamlet untouched, and the celebrations in honor of Dürer and Dickens.* While the Beethoven celebration gave us an excuse to take new joy in music we hear in every concert season, the 1971-1972 season may eventually effect some important additions to the standard concert repertory.

Unlike the masterpieces of Beethoven, the glorious masses, motets and chansons of Josquin are not generally known to the musical Man on the Street. But they may be soon. Since the War, a relatively small, militant subculture has studied and performed this music. And marveled. The New York Pro Musica, for example, has literally

all but incited riots in concert halls and on university campuses here and abroad with its lively performances of Josquin's music. (These extraordinary successes prove that this is real, live music—not just something "new" for the antiquarians.) The whole phenomenon has caught the public by surprise. If the zeal exhibited at the Josquin Festival's week of papers, discussions and sold-out concerts is to be taken as an augury, the uttermost parts of the earth will soon be increasingly familiar with Josquiniana.

Our awakening interest in Josquin's music is perhaps related to some of the directions modern music is taking. The fantastic interplay of tonal colors found in the best of Renaissance music is not totally unlike that to be heard in the music of our more imaginative electronic composers. Since Josquin was composing in a musical language that was neither completely tonal in the modern sense, nor completely modal in the medieval sense, his music is always full of the pleasant surprises this many-hued pallet afforded. And Josquin used these expressive powers in a relationship to text that seems to speak altogether eloquently to the Seventies; if nothing else, the Renaissance and our age share a preoccupation with words. It is part of the extraordinary wizardry of Josquin that his music should seem so strikingly original to us today. Herein lies much of the justification for all the attention his music is receiving.

EVERY HUNDRED YEARS, more or less, since Josquin's time, a great composer-innovator has arisen to alter the whole countenance of Western music. Such men were the seventeenth-century Monteverdi, the eighteenth-century Bach (in a different sense), and the nineteenth-century Beethoven, all of whom are now known to music lovers. The Josquin revival can now begin to fill in the gap in our understanding of the extremely inter-related arts of the Renaissance. More importantly, most of us will find the works themselves immensely satisfying, quite apart from their enormous importance in the history of music.

As an Italian historian has written:

> A young man with a twinkle in his eye plots a musical revolution. Such a man was Josquin des Prés, who, with his new works, overnight became the idol of Europe. There is no longer taste for others, only for Josquin. Only Josquin is sung in all the chapels in existence: only Josquin in Italy, only Josquin in France, only Josquin in Germany, in Flanders, in Hungary, in Bohemia, and even in Spain it is only Josquin.

So who are we to argue? □

*It occurs to me that we have some significant years to anticipate; but, few, thankfully, like 1985, which could be a bit hectic, since it will contain the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Tallis and of the birth of Schutz, *and* the three hundredth birthday of that mighty triumvirate: Bach, Handel and Domenico Scarlatti!

J[oseph] **Bryan III** *travels extensively from his home base in Richmond, Virginia. He has been a newspaperman* (Richmond News Leader) *and magazine editor* (Town and Country, Saturday Evening Post). . . . **Roger Evans**, *a free-lance writer, has an MA in music from Yale.*

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BUCKLEY
(Continued from page 1301)

scope by the Security Council—largely dealing in areas where the moral force of the international body needed harnessing in order to advance the stated objectives of the UN, which are the objectives of Eagle Scouts.

A few years after its inception we discovered, hard on the experience of prolonged Soviet intransigence, that the Security Council was all but immobilized by the veto. It was then that we moved (successfully), to give more authority to the General Assembly, which emerged in the decade of the Fifties as the primary focus of attention. During the same decade, and in the next decade, membership in the General Assembly multiplied, with the end of colonialism in the non-Russian world. And a feeling of collegiality grew among the nations of the so-called Third World, which is happiest left loosely defined, though it is not inaccurate to say about them that they tend to exercise diligently the luxury of not having to share the burden of international stability. These nations dominate, numerically, the United Nations. And they move, in decisive blocs, to serve the interests of major powers on matters that, for reasons grave and trivial, suit, episodically, their fancy. They are grown accustomed to a moral-sociological rubric which is altogether infectious, causing for instance the American delegate Mr. Francis Plimpton to proclaim proudly a few years ago that colonialism was dead—to say so in a chamber in which thirteen nations metronomically do the bidding of a single state, the alternative being to lie down to receive its tanks and infantry; in a chamber in which the meaning of the word "racism" consolidates as—an unfriendly act by any white man against any nonwhite man; and democracy is something the absence of which is deplorable only in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Taiwan and South Vietnam.

Even so, the United Nations has its uses, and the United States would be mistaken recklessly to withdraw from it. But in weighing our relations with it, we should bear it in mind that we are (and let us always be) a square country, which believes in the rules of the game. It has not occurred to us, since Adams defeated Jefferson in the election of 1796, to do other than accept the verdict of the voting majority. The General Assembly of the United Nations, as we have just now seen, has the raw power (in effect), to admit to membership the de facto governors of Mainland China, and to expel from membership the de facto governors of Taiwan. In virtue of our having participated in that vote we feel particularly uncomfortable because—somehow—we know that we will resist its sacramental corollary—discontinuing our own relations with Formosa. We acknowledge that the General Assembly has the right to act as it did, but we recognize also that in virtue of our active participation in a procedure that permitted the result we have seen, we have become involved in a process that has caused a great injustice, and one which is, moreover, intolerable in the light of our continuing strategic commitments.

I call on the President of the United States to instruct his ambassador to the United Nations to cease, beginning immediately, to vote in the General Assembly. To argue there, yes; to listen, yes; to plead; to explain; to cajole, threaten, conciliate, yes: to vote, never. Because to participate in the vote, given the American ethos, is psychologically to involve ourselves in the outcome of a vote which we cannot—as the only major world power concerned with ethical considerations—agree to do. Just as our official position at this juncture toward Taiwan cannot be defined by the action of the General Assembly, so on future occasions—predictably—we shall have to make our own policies, removed from recommendations of the General Assembly which come to us with parliamentary effrontery. We should, accordingly, try to free ourselves of the psychological shackles that imperceptibly inhibit us—for so long as we participate in that vote. Loose those

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shackles, and we can continue to participate in the affairs of the United Nations, having calmly described the nature of our relationship to it. If the United Nations wishes to expel from membership all nations that resist domination by those other nations the United Nations at any particular moment desires not to offend, why let it do so: but let it not understand itself as engaged in writing the moral law, or in making pronouncements which have presumptive weight in the chancelleries of the world: or, most particularly, in this chancellery. By a word, the President of the United States could effect the great reconciliation between the theoretical and the actual. If he does not give that word, he will have lost an opportunity for penetrating leadership.

But whether he gives it or not, as we know now from the predictable nature of our future relations with the government of Taiwan, the American people have given, however clumsily, the verdict with their feet. Imagine an American Administration that attempted to turn Taiwan over to the Mainland Communists, as the United Nations implicitly recommends.

But we are a neat people, who desire an orderly relationship with the UN, whence the need for Presidential action. Lacking executive punctilio, we will nevertheless know, intuitively, how to proceed. Soon, very soon, the parliamentary decisions of the United Nations will affect the policies of the United States about as much as decisions of the National Student Association, in solemn body assembled, affect the American academy.

Meanwhile we must cherish Taiwan, which is the West Berlin of China. It was to that island that a tired, bedraggled, dispirited group of refugees, under the leadership of a man already old, but of flinty spirit, fled from a shipwrecked nation, and addressed themselves to the enterprise of bringing order and a measure of freedom to fifteen million people. We in America helped them. Nowhere was our help more productive. In twenty years, they contrived a standard of living second only, in Asia, to Japan's. They did this while nourishing the culture of their ancestors, adapting it, stressing those qualities in it of patience and fortitude, of stoicism and resignation, of emphasis on the spirit, which have given Taiwan that special presence which will survive Chiang Kai-shek.

That small country is abloom with

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promise. We are bound to it by a treaty which the gates of the United Nations shall not prevail against. It is a far cry from becoming the capital province of all of China. But it is the repository of the hopes and dreams of those Chinese in whose breast lingers the seed of resistance to the furies of Maoism: which is to say, in every Chinese, because it is given to man, without exception, to be attracted to that which distinguishes him from other species: to love and compassion, to idealism, to freedom and dignity.

And so while Mainland China struggles in its endless ordeal against human nature, the little island of Taiwan must grow and prosper; making its way toward that estate which the Charter of the United Nations, with those resonant phrases which appear today so hollow and mean, like the language of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, which Charter once presented itself to a credulous world as embodying the human condition we seek to achieve. The people of Taiwan may feel lonely today, and isolated. But they should know that they are the more conspicuous for their loneliness and their isolation, and that in the years and decades to come, their separated brothers on the Mainland will look all the more wistfully to Taiwan's government in consideration of what it has done for its people, and permitted to its people; and all the more puzzlingly to that august derelict in New York City that took pleasure—so momentary, so obscene—on that grey autumn day in 1971, from encouraging the slavemasters, and humiliating the little band of brave and faithful men who for twenty years, as members in good standing of the United Nations, sustained the vision of a better life for the people of China; and who now, rejected by the United Nations, will continue to sustain that vision—because they are alone, all the more proudly, all the more hopefully, all the more grandly. □

COYNE

(Continued from page 1302)

nars, thus not enough participate. Its leaders are dedicated, the program is constantly expanding and it will continue to reach a greater number of teachers who will influence an even greater number of students. And in the end a program that works to restore to the citizens a faith in government, a trust in the democratic process is a valuable asset to our society. □

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[James N.] Tidwell

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 1271)

Let me make one comment: The ADL in no way, shape, or form represents the mainstream of American Jewish thought. A more representative example of American Jewish thought can be found in the pages of the magazine *Ideas*, which I would bet Mr. Braun has never heard of.

MENAHEM-BEN-MOSHE HA-BAVLI

Bronx, N.Y.

More on NEP

Your writers do not seem to have taken very seriously the foreign aspects of the NEP. The only mention of the problem is, in the editorial "Richard Nixon's NEP" ["The Week," Sept. 10], the sentence: "the release of the dollar from the Bretton Woods straitjacket, however, has won nearly unanimous domestic praise. . . . along with unanimous complaint from abroad."

There should have been complaint at home too, since all Mr. Nixon did was ignore the causes of the trouble—chiefly excessive investments in foreign industries, the flight of capital into sounder currencies and the negative balance of trade—all of them traceable to the "higher real wages" of American workers, which Mr. Nixon boasted of but which have inevitably ended by outweighing America's long-enjoyed trade advantages.

So the President put the blame on the old bogeymen, the "international speculators," ignoring the fact that since the weakness of the dollar was due to its excessive outflow, and since all dollars originate in the U.S., the speculators could hardly be international. A floating dollar as a "pillar of monetary stability" is something quite novel—and, of course, no blow to the "international money traders," just the opposite. As for the assurance of the United States always being a "trustworthy trading partner," one may wonder whether devaluing the money one has paid for merchandise is the best way of inspiring confidence.

And what is one to say about Mr. Nixon's repudiation of "voices urging us . . . to build a protective wall around us" while in the same breath "protecting" the dollar by a 10 per cent surtax on imports —incidentally in violation of the spirit of international trade, which is supposed to benefit peoples by facilitating "best buys" on the world market? "We welcome competition," indeed! Except, of course, when foreign workers are less greedy than ours, making exchange rates "unfair."

One can only hope that all those sophisms are but a smokescreen under cover of which the Administration will be working on a plan to cut the root of our troubles: the privileges granted labor in earlier times, which have become as outdated and intolerable as those once enjoyed by slave owners and feudal lords.

Tollensa, Spain F. C. NANO

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Public Justice v. J. Edgar Hoover

On The Right

New York, Oct. 30—A gentleman at Princeton University got the idea a while ago that it would be interesting to inquire into the nature of something. So, he founded the Committee for Public Justice.

Having founded a committee for Public Justice, the question naturally arose, public justice for whom? The answer was obvious: public justice for victims of—J. Edgar Hoover. The first extensive meeting is scheduled to be held at the Woodrow Wilson School in Princeton, and it is fearfully predictable what they will talk about—about the deficiencies of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

It is strange that a committee so self-advertisedly concerned with justice should solicit, in the name of estimating the usefulness of the FBI, the services of men who are, some of them, anti-FBI nuts. I say nuts, because criticism of the FBI needs to be evaluated with some reference to the evaluator's general view of things. If there is anyone on the masthead of the new committee who has given ten minutes' fruitful thought to the question of crime and punishment, with the possible exception of Mr. Norman Dorsen of the ACLU, then there will be headlines indeed issuing out of Princeton.

THE MOST CONSPICUOUS figure in the Executive Council is Ramsey Clark. Mr. Clark, who is a splendid fellow, wrote, alas, the most perverse book about morals since de Sade, the jurisprudential equivalent of *The Greening of America.* On top of that, Mr. Clark and Mr. Hoover, who was a subordinate of Mr. Clark for a few years, in the sense that Marshal Montgomery was a subordinate to King George, were exchanging epithets a year or so ago.

Then there is, of all people, Miss Lillian Hellman, who, notwithstanding her great resourcefulness as a dramatist, could only think, in 1952, to answer questions about her involvement with the Communist Party, with mutterings about the Fifth Amendment. Burke Marshall was an Assistant Attorney General during the Kennedy years, and in pursuit of public justice, rushed to Chappaquiddick not at the urging of Mr. and Mrs. Kopechne, but of Senator Kennedy.

OH, IT IS a wonderful list! Did you know that Warren Beatty was interested in public justice? That was the true meaning of the gleam in his eye when, as Clyde, he took Bonnie to the bank. And Leonard Bernstein, whose devotion to the cause of the Black Panthers runs athwart J. Edgar Hoover's warning a few years ago about the danger of the Panther movement. Jules Feiffer is there, to protest what a spokesman for the Committee has described as "political repression," which is to be defined, one gathers, as resistance to the burning down of ROTC buildings. Fred J. Cook is best known as having discovered that the FBI framed Alger Hiss. Mr. Cook was discharged by a New York newspaper when it transpired that he had spoken a lie on David Susskind's program, to which temptation journalists are not permitted to submit, not even under the circumstances. Frank Donner also pleaded the Fifth Amendment about his connections with the Communist Party. Martin Peretz of Harvard, the philanthropist of the hard Left, is still dazed from the antisemitic talk he ran into during one of the caucuses which, as I remember, he got the bill for; conceivably he has it in for the FBI for permitting the caucus to gather.

Shirley MacLaine will be consulted. We never can remember whether Shirley MacLaine is Shelley Winters, and which of the two is related, and how, to Warren Beatty, though it is good to know that they are both related by their common thirst for public justice. There is a military man on the list. One military man. Who? You guessed it, former Marine Commandant General David Shoup, who has been talking about American war crimes ever since the Vietcong launched their reign of terror. And Candice Bergen, Mrs. Marshall Field, and—Charles Goodell.

Other contributors to Princeton's search for expanding the vocabulary of anti-Hooverism are Paul Newman, who will contribute the facial expressions; Mike Nichols, who will direct them; and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who will write the history of the Committee for Public Justice, which will be the shortest book he ever wrote, meaning that there is something in public justice for all of us. □

MOYNIHAN AT THE UN

New York, Oct. 30—A year or so back the rumor went about that President Nixon would appoint Daniel P. Moynihan as his ambassador to the United Nations. Well, the President appointed Mr. Bush, who is a splendid man, but who because he has not had the misfortune of growing up among social scientists, isn't as well qualified to cope with their charlatanry.

It happens that Mr. Moynihan ended up at the UN after all, as a United States delegate, and his first self-assignment was to examine a document called the "1970 Report on the World Social Situation." This report is supposed to focus on world social issues, to invite attention to them not only by the UN, but by social agencies the world over.

"The Secretary General," Mr. Moynihan began his analysis, "has stated the United Nations is on the verge is fiscal bankruptcy. I should like to talk about the prospect of intellectual bankruptcy as evidenced by the draft 1970 Report on the World Social Situation."

Professor Moynihan went on, "It reads like the work of a harassed undergraduate hoping against reason that his senior thesis, compiled in three horrendous nights of scissors, paste and black coffee, will be accepted on grounds that he will otherwise not graduate."

WHAT KIND of thing did the social scientists employed by the UN get wrong in discussing the United States? Roughly speaking everything. The passages concerning America have "the quality of persistent and seemingly invincible inaccuracy. There is scarcely a sentence concerning the United States . . . which a reputable social scientist or a responsible government official could approve. Where the facts are knowable they are recurrently wrong.

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Where they are not knowable, they are confidently asserted."

Mr. Moynihan quoted examples: "According to the most recent estimates, even the working poor in the United States will number about five million by 1974, an increase of more than two million over 1967." Mr. Moynihan was able to correct this even from memory. "I would say our estimate of the working poor in 1967 was about fifteen million, and the number is expected to drop to about ten million by 1974. Where did the UN data come from?"

And so on.

What caused a report so egregiously inaccurate? Here Diplomat Moynihan asserted himself. He didn't simply say that it is the job of anti-U.S. intellectuals, whose ignorance of the United States is altogether unfeigned. The factual mistakes are easy enough to cope with, said Moynihan. "[But] this is not true of the methodology of the report. Here we encounter a profoundly serious problem, which can only cause alarm to persons committed to free inquiry in an open society. This methodology, let it be clear, is not the result of any plan, it is merely the end consequence of a succession of choices reflecting what was either convenient or possible under the circumstances. The outcome, nonetheless, is ominous. I use that term with care." Read: if you don't have freedom of criticism within the academies, and if people get their jobs only after qualifying ideologically for them, you are going to get tendentious reporting.

Mr. Moynihan said that the Soviet delegation, delving into the report, had gone on at some length about how bad things are in America, noting for instance the frequency of trade-union protests against the Administration. "It is not surprising that this should strike her [the delegate's a she]. The distinguished delegate comes from a land where the last trade-union protest occurred in 1917."

There follow a few words which are the trendiest on foreign policy that I have spotted coming from the lips of a modern liberal; the last word in anti-Wilsonianism. "As the distinguished Soviet delegate told us, 'The Soviet people live in harmony—there is no conflict among social groups.' Doubtless that is so. It is not so of the United States, where there is much discordance and considerable conflict. . . . We do not seek to convert anyone to our view of things. . . . We are fully content that others live as they will. The world is a varied place, and the United Nations reflects that variation." Wow. This is the UN that fifteen years ago was setting up declarations of human rights, and drawing up genocide conventions. Now, says Mr. Moynihan, we are "fully content that others live as they will." Well, I'm not fully content that the distinguished Soviet delegate will be stuck in Siberia if she utters one undistinguished word. But I see what Moynihan is up to, and it is, I suppose, a necessary corrective, the end of the Wilsonian dream. □

LBJ LOOKS BACK

New York, Nov. 4— Lyndon Johnson has released his memoirs, and we learn from them much that we expected to see confirmed, and some things—as publishers always hope—that are surprising. Mr. Johnson has (as of this writing) released only the beginning of the story he intends to tell, but it is itself fascinating. He confesses (that perhaps isn't the friendliest word for it) that President Kennedy's trip to Texas was done for purely political purposes. And he indulges the reason why he, Vice President Johnson, was getting along especially poorly with Senator Yarborough, which strained relationship resulted in the celebrated incident of Mr. Yarborough's declining to participate directly in the motorcade, on D-Day Minus One, greatly aggravating the President whose purpose in traveling to Texas was to stitch together a majority for the forthcoming election of 1964.

Why was Senator Yarborough angry with Vice President Johnson? On such trivia empires hang. Well—the memoirs confide—it was this simple. When Kennedy asked Johnson to run with him as Vice President, Johnson asked him a couple of direct questions. For one thing, Johnson wanted to know whether Kennedy was merely making a sentimental gesture, of the kind needed to glue together the entire Democratic coalition. No, Kennedy said—as we learn from Johnson—he, Kennedy, truly believed that sentiment aside, Johnson's position on the ticket would probably mean the difference between victory and loss. At which point—one gathers from his own narrative—Johnson, rather than fall on his knees and say something on the order of, Whither thou goest, John, thither also will go thy servant Lyndon, said: Jack, one thing. If you make it to the White House, the usual rule on federal appointments will be suspended. Normally, a President checks in with senators from the state in which he is making federal appointments. In this case, you are to check not merely with Senator Yarborough, but with me. Okay?

Okay, said Kennedy.

Senator Yarborough, Mr. Johnson tells us, deeply resented this extraordinary arrangement.

It transpires that the very last words spoken to Johnson by Kennedy on that tragic day were, "We're going to carry two states next year if we don't carry any others: Massachusetts and Texas." Mr. Johnson explains the meaning of this remark: Jack Kennedy had no reason, in November of 1963, to take for granted his re-election. His national ratings were extraordinarily low. In Texas in a popularity poll taken a few weeks before his disastrous visit there, he had gotten a rating spectacularly low, sharply contrasting with the rating given to Governor Connally, who rode with Mr. Kennedy on the fateful ride, Mr. Johnson tells us that Mr. Kennedy's popularity, at least in Texas, was the result of several things, including the Bay of Pigs (Texans do not like to lose wars), the fiscal situation (Texans tend to be conservative on money matters), and the civil-rights question (Texans were opposed to the Civil Rights Bills, which Mr. Kennedy had begun to push, although there was not at the time of the assassination, a bill passed which bore his imprimatur). And, then Johnson goes on to say that the very good mood of the President, on November 22, 1963, was the result of his feeling that the enthusiasm of the crowd gainsaid the polls. Whence the statement that he felt he could count on Texas the next time around.

ALL OF WHICH, elaborately, reminds us of something we have not dwelt much upon during the last eight years, even as if to do so would be profane. It is this: that President Kennedy was not all that popular. Shortly before he died, *Time* Magazine was openly speculating on the question whether President Kennedy would or wouldn't succeed in beating Candidate Goldwater. *Look* Magazine was not able to recall an issue which circulated post-Dallas, the lead article of which asked the question: Can Kennedy Win in 1964?

In other words, it was an open question. The knowledge of that simple datum does much to illuminate the recent history of the United States, so greatly obscured by the prevalent superstition that Mr. Kennedy was as unbeatable as King Arthur at his prime. It was otherwise. Now the detractors of Mr. Kennedy spring up—not from the Right, but the Left. And the revisionist season is with us. That, of course, was inevitable. One supposes that eight years is a decent interlude. Even so, one feels just a little regret. Impeach King Arthur! One listens to the arguments, perforce; but sadly. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. A mineral named after a famous German (*one of two spellings*) — 21 157 116 69 134 137 10

B. Regular recurrence of elements in a system of *motion* — 32 107 115 131 117 58

C. This kind of horse would be unlucky — 93 36 130 193 132 175

D. A tall herb of the pink family, having numerous small, fragrant, white or pink flowers — 148 75 86 96 112 73 44 120 128 155 47 78

E. A small composite herb, having white woolly leaves and flowers, growing in the high altitudes of the Alps — 53 38 19 121 101 70 59 140 153

F. To restore to life or consciousness — 164 118 123 108 176 135

G. A low, branching, evergreen shrub with bluish-purple flowers — 16 14 139 162 1 105 20 29 41 37 54 74 62

H. Any of certain coarse species of goldenrod — 50 3 84 104 122 65 136 30 98 77

I. This flower was named after a youth who fell in love with his own image reflected in the water — 15 31 52 71 79 6 26 45 56

J. The state of being forced out — 61 113 124 146 110 119 24 178

K. A Japanese eye specialist for whom a test for determining color blindness was named — 63 197 82 141 48 85 182 167

L. An agent for killing microorganisms — 156 49 144 160 177 172 191 11 149

M. What the ancients called the amethyst or sapphire; also a flower — 186 17 161 150 145 60 89 111

N. A painting by Thomas Gainsborough — 194 125 152 165 92 169 40

O. To render unnecessary — 5 23 27 42 51 68 83

P. The process in which energy is emitted as *particles* or waves — 9 174 159 126 183 94 199 181 189

Q. The state flower and nickname of Kansas — 67 12 127 180 103 90 35 200 196

R. A part of West Germany — 88 2 7 18 28 129 138 147 154 170 188 190

S. The state flower of Florida — 91 4 66 76 163 171 39 55 72 80 109 114 143

T. Another name for the American cowslip or prairie pointer — 100 22 34 87 46 187 97 192 8 81 151 168

U. To develop gradually — 102 133 158 185 198 179

V. *Hibiscus moscheutos* — 106 166 99 43 13 25 57 64 33 95 142 173 184 195 201

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1320 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram

1 G	2 R	3 H		4 S	5 O	6 I	7 R	8 T		9 P	10 A	11 L		12 Q	13 V	14 G
15 I		16 G	17 M		18 R	19 E	20 G	21 A	22 T	23 O	24 J	25 V	26 I		27 O	28 R
29 G	30 H		31 I	32 B	33 V		34 T	35 Q	36 C	37 G	38 E		39 S	40 N		41 G
42 O	43 V		44 D	45 I	46 T		47 D	48 K	49 L	50 H		51 O	52 I	53 E		54 C
55 S	56 I	57 V		58 B	59 E	60 M	61 J		62 G	63 K	64 V		65 H	66 S	67 Q	
68 O	69 A	70 E		71 I	72 S	73 D	74 G		75 D	76 S	77 H		78 D	79 I	80 S	
81 T	82 K	83 O		84 H	85 K	86 D	87 T	88 R		89 M	90 Q	91 S		92 N	93 C	94 P
	95 V	96 D	97 T	98 E		99 V	100T		101E	102U	103Q	104H		105G	106V	
107B	108F	109S		110J	111M	112D		113J	114S	115B		116A	117B	118F	119J	120D
	121E	122H	123F	124J	125N	126P	127Q	128D	129R	130C		131B	132C		133U	134A
135F	136H		137A	138R	139G	140E		141K		142V	143S		144L	145M	146J	147R
	148D	149L	150M	151T	152N	153E	154R		155D		156L	157A	158U	159P		160L
161M	162G		163S	164F	165N	166V		167K		168T	169N	170R	171S	172L	173V	174P
175C		176F	177L	178J	179U		180Q	181P	182K		183P	184V	185U		186M	187T
188R		189P	190R	191L	192T	193C	194N	195V	196Q	197K		198U	199P	200Q	201V	

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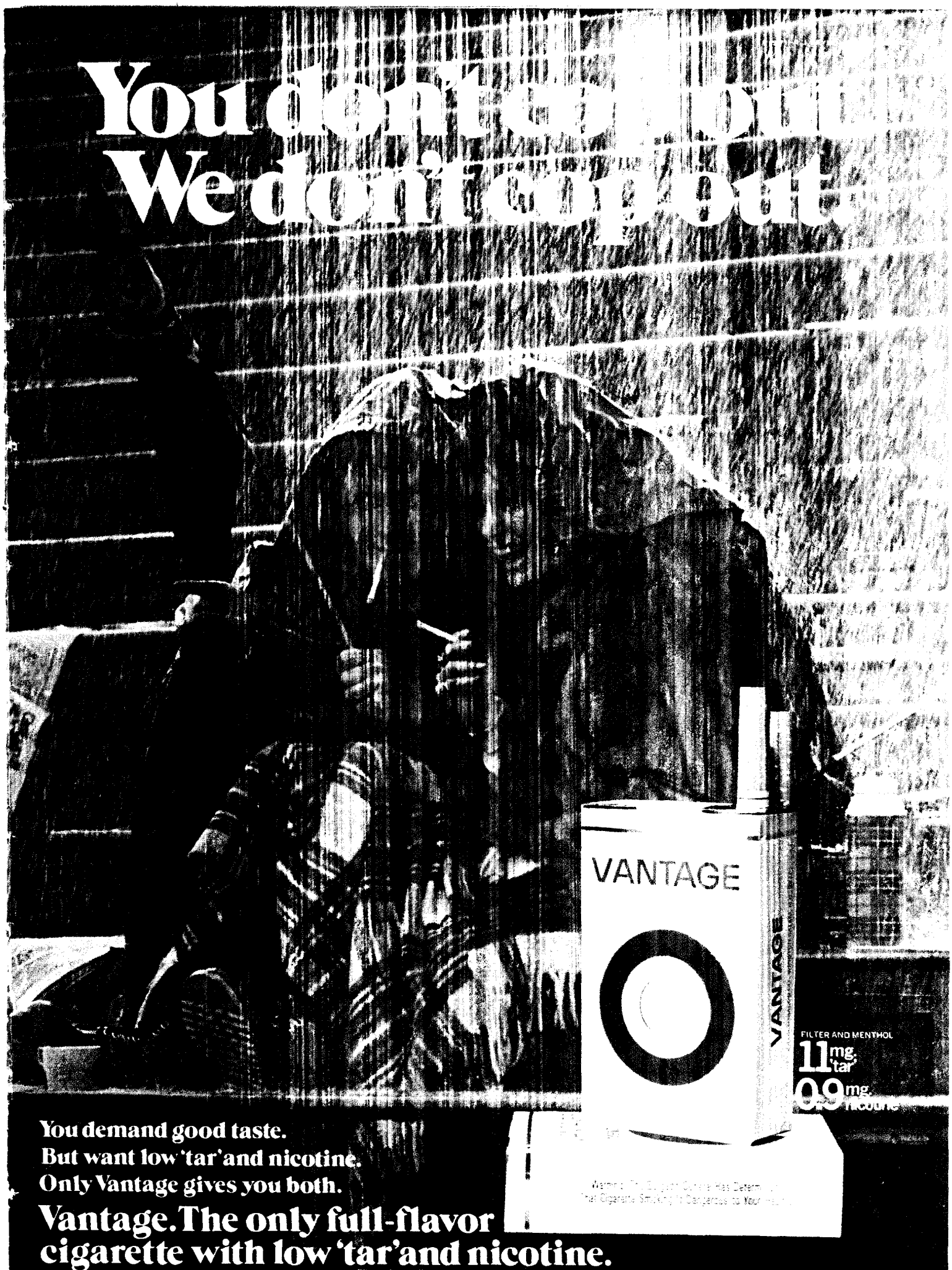

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Are the holidays just an excuse to drink yourself under the table?

Remember last year?

Well, this year won't be any different.

There'll be a party at somebody's house every night in December.

And a blast at the office on the 24th.

And an awful lot of people will have one drink more than they usually do—one more drink than they can really handle—because, "after all, it's Christmas."

And while we love the holidays and enjoy a party just as much as you do, we don't care much for that approach.

And neither would you, if you made a Bourbon as good as ours.

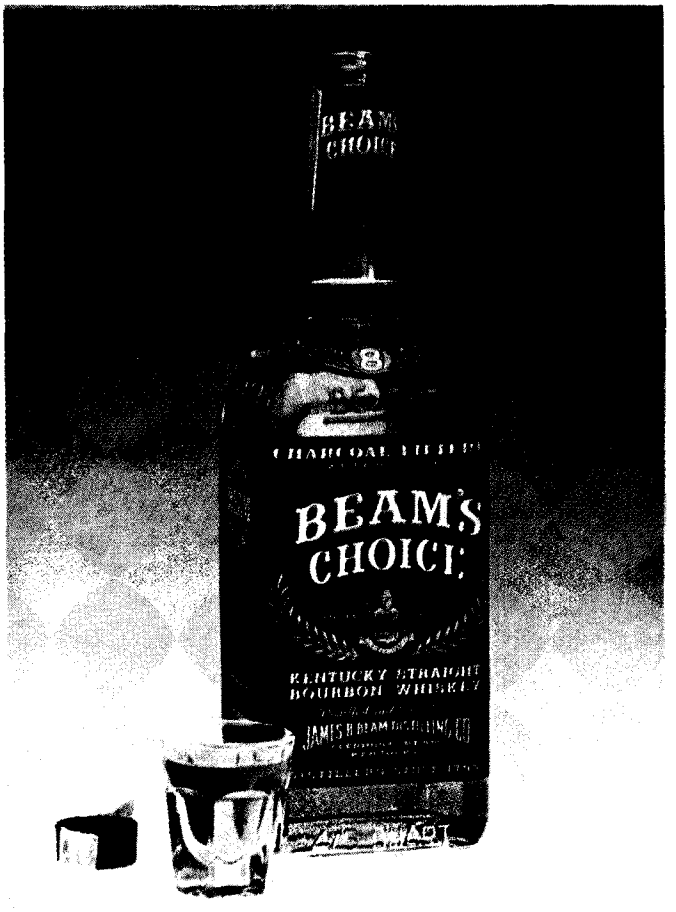
We've been Bourbon makers since 1795. Using recipes that are even older than that. And our pride and joy—Beam's Choice—is much too good to throw away on people who intend, for some silly reason, to overindulge.

Beam's Choice is an 8-year-old Bourbon. It's charcoal-filtered after aging. And we think it's about as close to perfect as anybody's going to get.

So whether you buy it in the gift-wrapped bottle for a friend, or in the plain green label for yourself, as long as you're both grown-up about it, we know you'll enjoy it.

We'd just like to leave you with this parting shot.

We're responsible for making good Bourbon. But if you misuse it, only you can be responsible for that.



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